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The truth about the Land League ... 2d ed.

London

1882

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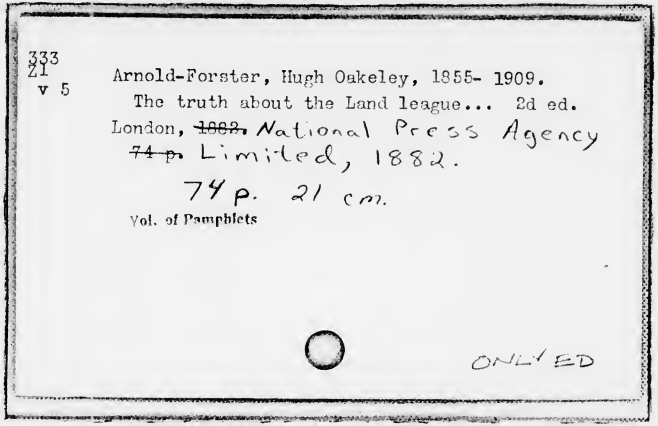

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THE

TRUTH ABOUT THE LAND LEAGUE,

Its Leaders, and its Teaching.

BY

H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER.

"MAKE A NOTE. HERE ARE ABUNDANT MATERIALS. SPREAD THE LIGHT THROUGH ENGLAND."

"TRANSATLANTIC" in the *Irish World*.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

THE NATIONAL PRESS AGENCY, LIMITED,

13, *Whitefriars Street, E.C.*

1882.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

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ON THE FIRST EDITION.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

Since the first edition of this work appeared, many important events have taken place. It is not, however, intended here to discuss those events, or the controversies to which they have given rise. The additions which will be found at the end of the book are inserted in furtherance of the original design of the compiler, namely, to throw light upon the methods of the Irish Land League and its Leaders, and the arguments used by the latter in Ireland and in the British Parliament.

Several points to which attention has recently been called seem capable of further elucidation, and for the sake of convenience they have been dealt with separately, instead of being appended to the chapters to which they might specially be referred.

H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LAND LEAGUE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Though a young member of the Whig party, I will venture to speak in the name of the whole body. I tell the honourable and learned gentleman, that the same spirit which sustained us in a just contest for him will sustain us in an equally just contest against him. Calumny, abuse, royal displeasure, popular fury, exclusion from office, exclusion from Parliament, we were ready to endure them all, rather than that he should be less than a British subject. We never will suffer him to be more."—*Macaulay's Speech on Motion for Repeal of the Union, in answer to O'Connell.*

INTRODUCTORY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—PROBABLE CRITICISMS—THEIR VALUE—QUESTION AT ISSUE—RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERS—IRISH POINT OF VIEW—THE LEADERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

A few words of introduction are necessary in submitting this pamphlet to the public. It is not, and does not pretend to be, exhaustive. No complete history of the Irish Land League can be written until its secret history is before the world; and that is not likely to be for a long time to come. It is safe, however, to prophesy that when it does see the light, the reputation of the organization which it describes will not be improved.

Meanwhile, there are many sources of information already available, and it is from these sources, and from these alone, that the passages contained in the following pages are taken. With few exceptions the extracts are from documents published by, or with the authority of, the Land League. The quotations from speeches are in nearly every instance from sworn reports which have been put in evidence and never challenged. The correctness of the quotation, the effect of the context, and the circumstances of the publication, can in every instance be verified by any member of the public. It must not be

supposed that because the passages selected are short or few in number their paucity or brevity is due to any failure in the supply. The contrary is the case. The Land League has raised up for itself an indestructible monument in the literature which it has created. That literature is voluminous, but it is uniform in its character. What its character is it is the object of this pamphlet to show.

One word may be added in anticipation of the criticisms which are tolerably certain to be made upon this compilation. It will be said that to devote attention to the coarseness and brutality of a few men, is to indicate forgetfulness of the circumstances which make that coarseness and brutality a danger and a curse.

Of course, the argument is illogical, but that has not prevented its doing duty very frequently in the past; nor is it likely to prevent it in the future. But, indeed, whatever weight there is in the proposition that the unhappy past of Ireland is in the main responsible for her unhappy present, it is wholly in favour of the expediency of making as clear as possible how the traditions of that unhappy past are being aggravated and traded upon for the purpose of rendering doubly sure an unhappy future.

It will be no answer to the strictures which the subsequent passages may seem to imply, to say that without English tyranny there would not now be Irish crime. That is a truism, but that is not the point. The point is whether the so-called leaders of the Irish people have or have not used the expressions and given the advice attributed to them in these pages; whether, granting that they did so, the expressions which they used and the advice they proffered were not coarse, brutal, and criminal, calculated to bring about the very consequences which, beyond all controversy, invariably followed them.

For the unfortunate people of Ireland, to whom want, oppression, and the sense of injustice are realities, and who, above all, are ignorant of the wider learning of the world, of the feeling of Englishmen towards them, and of the desire of England to befriend them; for those whose sole idea of what is passing outside their own localities comes through the lying columns of worthless journals, every excuse ought to be made, and indeed is made. But what is to be said in favour of those who, removed from the madness which comes from despair, and free from the perverted ideas of morality which are the fruit of ignorance, have dared deliberately to inflame the vilest passions, and to pander to the

lowest desires of the men whom by every reason of patriotism, of honesty, and of humanity, they were bound to elevate and to protect? (1.)

Once more the question is: Did the men referred to in these pages say and do the things therein attributed to them? If so, did they say them and do them deliberately and of malice aforethought?

Lastly: One remark as to the invariable stock argument about taking the Irish point of view in these matters. Once for all, as far as these men are concerned, there is no Irish point of view. Even within those limits to which with some justice the doctrine may be applied, it has been terribly abused. It is true that in rare instances crimes have been committed in Ireland which, in the popular estimation, were not crimes, or, at the most, venial offences. English politicians, prompted by a charity which has overrun its object, have sometimes sought to palliate the fault because they pity the perpetrator. The tendency is natural enough, but it is not without its perils in Ireland. The lax way in which Englishmen have at times allowed themselves to speak of acts of vengeance for real or fancied injuries committed in Ireland, has done an infinity of harm among a people who are certainly not too ready to appreciate the enormous difference between the infliction of the sentence of death under the sanction of a court of law, and the killing of any human being, however guilty, by an unauthorised and irresponsible fellow-creature.

But whatever may be the moral guilt of those who offend against the law under a fancied claim of right, there is surely no question about that of those who not only know every intricacy of the law, but are able to protect themselves by it when they please, and to influence public opinion in their cause, and are at liberty to choose without interference any and every method of relief save the one which they have deliberately preferred to adopt.

It is right also that the world should realise who the leaders of this Irish Land League really are. Some of them, it is true, are Irishmen others are not; but there is scarcely one among the number who, by his education, by his position, or by his occupation, has not acquired ample opportunities of studying the past history and present condition of his

(1.) This is how a leading member of the Land League speaks of the relations between England and Ireland: "I will not mince my words, and I say that the one prevailing and unchangeable passion between Ireland and England is the passion of hate."—*Mr. Sexton, M.P., at the meeting of the Central Land League in Dublin, October 14th*, 1881.

country from the outside. For them the excuses, which are perhaps justly to be made for the ignorant and suffering tenantry of the West of Ireland, are not available. Brought up, many of them, with the same advantages, and under the same conditions as the representatives of English constituencies, they deserve the same measure of justice as those representatives receive, and no more. If it be true that their countrymen are prone to be led away into the commission of outrage, it was their duty to denounce outrage in terms that could not be mistaken. If it be true that the history of the past has sown hatred between England and Ireland, it was their duty to join with the people of England, who for forty years have been striving to remove the causes of that hatred. If it be true that they had their country's welfare at heart, it was their duty to repudiate the doctrine of public plunder that their countrymen have been urged to accept. Have they done any of these things? That is the question which the following pages may help us to answer.

It is usually considered that no greater service can be rendered to a politician or to a party than to give publicity to the views which they entertain, and to the objects which they have in view. It is intended in these pages to perform this friendly office on behalf of those politicians and of that party whose words, methods, and actions are therein recorded.

It is the aim of the compiler throughout to allow the facts as far as possible to speak for themselves, and to reproduce, whenever practicable, the actual words, whether written or spoken, of the persons whose careers it is intended to illustrate. Fortunately it is not difficult to obtain a vast amount of information without transgressing these limits. The literature of the Land League is abundant, and the extracts which have been made from that literature in this work are, as has been said, in all cases capable of verification, and if need be of correction.

The Irish National Land League has appealed to the world upon the justice of its cause, and the purity of its methods. It is at least fair that the world should have the opportunity of forming its judgment by the aid, not only of the carefully selected utterances which are reserved for the House of Commons and for English platforms; but by the light also of the teaching which, with equal deliberation and far greater energy, has been inflicted upon the people of Ireland.

Chapter II.

THE FOUNDER OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

BOSWELL.—I cannot think his intention was bad.

JOHNSON.—Sir, that will not do. We cannot prove any man's intention to be bad. You may shoot a man through the head, and say you intended to miss him; but the judge will order you to be hanged.

Boswell's Life of Johnson.

MICHAEL DAVITT—THE CHARGE AGAINST HIM—HIS TRIAL—LETTER ATTRIBUTED TO HIM—OPINION OF THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE—VERDICT AND SENTENCE—SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF DAVITT.

Michael Davitt was the founder of the Irish National Land League, and by universal consent it appears that Michael Davitt is, of all the leading members of that Association, the most entitled to our esteem, admiration, and respect. Public opinion is probably quite correct in its estimate, and, apart from all other considerations, there can be no doubt that real suffering and real imprisonment must and ought to excite our sympathy, even though that suffering and that imprisonment be justly inflicted. This is more likely to be the case where constant publicity brings the realities of the situation closely under the public observation. It is not desirable to interfere in any way with the existence or expression of this very commendable sentiment of pity. It is possible, however, for it to assume dimensions, and to lead us to conclusions, which the circumstances in no way warrant; and when a particular individual is singled out as its special object, it seems but natural to enquire how far we are justified in extending to one man, convicted under the ordinary law of the land, a sympathy which we are not accustomed to accord to his many companions in misfortune.

It may be as well, therefore, to recall, as simply as possible, the leading incidents in the trial which ended in the conviction and sentence of Michael Davitt.

On the 15th July, 1870, John Wilson and Michael Davitt were indicted at the Old Bailey for "Treason Felony." No objections were made to the jury panel on behalf of the prisoners. The judge at the trial was the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn. In the course of the trial the following facts appeared :—

The prisoners, according to the prosecution, had been concerned in forwarding to various large towns in the United Kingdom packages containing arms, chiefly revolvers. These arms were for the most part consigned to fictitious addresses, and the jury were asked to believe that they were intended to be made use of in carrying on the Fenian movement. Evidence was given to show that Davitt had been privy to the projected attack upon Chester Castle, an attack which was happily frustrated by the vigilance of the police.

In the course of the trial a letter was put in by the prosecution. This letter was sworn to be in Davitt's handwriting. It was in the following terms :—

"Glasgow, Wednesday. Dear Friend,—I have just returned from Dundee, which place I have left all right. Your letter of Monday I have just read. I have no doubt but what the account is correct. In reference to the other affair, I hope you won't take any part in it whatever ; I mean in the carrying of it out. If it is decided upon and you receive *Jem's* and, through him, *Fitz's* consent, let it be done by all means, but one thing you must remember, and that is that you are of too much importance to our family to be spared, even at the risk of allowing a rotten sheep to exist among the flock. You must know that if anything happened to you the toil and trouble of the last six months will have been almost in vain. *Whoever is employed, don't let him use the pen we are and have been selling ; get another for the purpose, a common one.* I hope and trust that when I return to *Man* I may not hear that every man, woman, and child know all about it ere it occurred."

It was proved that "a family" in the Fenian phraseology meant a secret society ; that the "pen we have been selling" referred to revolvers.

The theory of the prosecution was that this letter referred to a plot to murder some unknown person who was considered unsafe by the leaders of the gang, and they maintained also that Davitt was a consenting, and approving, party to the execution of this plot. The friends of the prisoner maintained his innocence. It is impossible to arrive at a moral certainty about this or any other matter, but this

is how the question presented itself to the Lord Chief Justice in summing up the case to the jury :—

"If that letter was to be taken as genuine, did it convince them that it had reference to a Fenian scheme, or to some other measure of the deepest atrocity? It seemed impossible to resist the conclusion, but they must judge for themselves upon that point as men of the world, as men of reason and sense."

The jury did not resist the conclusion. As men presumably of reason and of sense they found Davitt guilty, and with their verdict the Lord Chief Justice found no difficulty in agreeing.

In sentencing the prisoners he expressed his opinion that "Davitt had been convicted on evidence that could not leave the slightest shadow of doubt on the mind of any reasonable man who dispassionately considered it. . . . There was one thing he could not help regarding with a feeling of the utmost condemnation and horror, and that was, that assassination was not considered as a means too desperate or bad to be resorted to when it was found convenient to have recourse to it. That letter of Davitt's about which the witness Forrester had told a story that no sensible man could believe, showed that there was some dark and villainous design against the life of some man. The letter spoke for itself."

The prisoners were sentenced to fifteen and five years' penal servitude respectively. Davitt received the longer term, and the difference in guilt, implied in the judge's apportionment of the punishment, is significant.

It would be unnecessary to revive the recollection of these facts were it not that some allusion to Davitt's antecedents seems due, by virtue of the prominent place which has been assigned to him in the organisation of the Irish Land League.

He was detected in an attempt to distribute firearms in the large towns of the kingdom ; he was detected in what the Lord Chief Justice of England and twelve jurymen were unanimous in believing to be a scheme of private murder. Our English towns were saved from the unpleasantness of having to suppress a Fenian outbreak, and the life of the unknown victim was rendered secure.

As Davitt was fairly tried, so was he fairly and even generously dealt with. After serving a portion of his sentence he was released by the clemency of the Crown. He chose to ally himself with an

association whose attributes and objects are described hereafter, but which, it suffices to say, boasted of its determination to elude or to defy the law. He took the consequences, and must have expected to take them. Whether he did so or not, however, there was plainly only one duty before the Executive of the country, namely, to revoke the licence which its holder thought himself compelled to abuse.

In justice to Davitt it must be said that he has throughout maintained the reputation of being the most dignified and possibly the most entitled to respect of his colleagues.

CHAPTER III.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

PART I.

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

A trumpeter being taken prisoner in a battle, begged hard for quarter. "Spare me, good sirs, I beseech you," said he, "and put me not to death without cause, for I have killed no one myself, nor have I any arms but this trumpet only."

"For that very reason," said they who had seized him, "shall you the sooner die, for without the spirit to fight yourself, you stir up others to warfare and bloodshed."

Moral.—He who incites to strife is worse than he who takes part in it.

Æsop's Fables.

LAND LEAGUE SPEECHES IN 1880—MR. PARNELL AT NEW ROSS—MR. BIGGAR ON MURDER—MR. BIGGAR ON GRAZING FARMS.

Having said a word or two as to the founder of the Land League it now becomes our duty to enquire in what spirit, and by what means, the Institution which he created was formed and conducted.

Here, as in all cases, it is best, because fairest, to go to the leading members of the Land League themselves, and learn from their mouths what it was that they were teaching to the unhappy peasantry of Ireland during the summer and autumn of 1880.

Luckily, there is abundant material at hand upon which we are able to draw. The speeches made by the leading members of the Central and Local Land Leagues are on record, and have been preserved with a fidelity and accuracy such as only the most perfect system of short-hand writing, practised by masters in the stenographic art, could have achieved. In these records we shall find the information we require.

First in point of time, first too perhaps in its mischievous brutality, is the well-known speech of Mr. Parnell at New Ross. The words of

this address have become to a certain extent historical; but the circumstances under which they were delivered, and the rider by which they were accompanied, are not perhaps equally fresh in the recollection of the public. It is permissible, therefore, to recall them. Speaking at New Ross on September 26th, 1880, almost on the grave of a young man who, though innocent of any offence, real or imaginary, had been brutally murdered in broad daylight; speaking within a few weeks of the event, and while the enquiry to which it gave rise was still in progress, the leader of the Land League delivered himself of these words :—

"I had wished, in referring to a sad occurrence which took place lately—the shooting, or attempted shooting, of a land agent in this neighbourhood—I had wished to point out *that recourse to such measures of procedure* is *entirely unnecessary, and absolutely prejudicial*, WHERE THERE IS A SUITABLE ORGANIZATION AMONG THE TENANTS THEMSELVES."

As above suggested, the rider is important, not as demonstrating a fact, but as enforcing a theory. The *fact* is exactly the reverse of what Mr. Parnell chose to assert. The increase of crime in a district has invariably been in almost exact proportion to the increase in the number and violence of the Land League meetings. So far was it from being the case, that the extension of the Land League organization was considered an adequate substitute for the crime of murder, that it is true, to use the words of Mr. Gladstone, that "crime dogged the footsteps of the Land League." Wherever the organization was most perfect there the terrorism and lawlessness were the most complete.

This was Mr. Parnell's first protest against murder; we shall see that it was not his last. His indignant denunciation did not, however, have much effect in dissuading his admirers from indulgence in "the unnecessary and prejudicial measure of procedure."

Mr. Parnell was worthily seconded. Mr. Biggar, his colleague and ally, contributed the weight of his counsel to the common fund of advice tendered to the people of Ireland by their leaders. During the month of October, 1880, this gentleman made several speeches to public meetings in Ireland; and as Mr. Biggar is a member of Parliament, and as his utterances were endorsed by the presence of two of his most distinguished colleagues (Mr. Sexton and Mr. A. O'Connor), it is worth while to quote them at some length.

"There is another question," said the member for Cavan, "which has been raised, very much. The Land League are unfairly charged with the shooting of landlords. It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons. They never have given any advice of the sort. Mr. Hussey (a land agent) may be a very bad man, and plenty of other men are as bad as Mr. Hussey, but I can tell you what the Land League can do. If anyone is charged with shooting or offering violence to the landlord or his agent, it is the duty of the Land League to see that that person who is charged with the offence shall get a fair trial. Well you, the members of the local *Land League, can use your exertions to get everything in favour of the person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord.* You can take care an innocent man shall not suffer the penalty he is not entitled to suffer. These are all things which are thoroughly legitimate, and which you can do, and which will have the effect of bringing about a beneficial state of things."

At a meeting in the same month the speaker said :—

"It is your duty and it is your interest to give your assistance in such a manner as you can easily do—in certain ways—which manner I will now point out to you. We do not recommend shooting landlords. *That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it;* and besides, it is held undesirable, for the interest of the cause, that it should be done. *for this reason: that when such a thing takes place it is blazoned forth in all the English newspapers, and prejudice is excited in the English mind against the Irish tenant farmers*, which is calculated to interfere to a material extent with the advocacy of my friend Mr. Parnell and others on behalf of the tenant farmers."

A third and last quotation will suffice :—

"Now our worthy chairman in his speech said that it was undesirable that anything in the way of violence towards the landlords should be perpetrated. Now on that subject I will say this: that the Land League as a body wants to do what is most beneficial, and they do not want that any violence should be offered to the landlords. Now *one of the reasons is this—that persons who have undertaken to shoot landlords have missed the landlord and shot some one whom they did not intend.* Now that is one objection which is palpable on the face of it. But there are other objections which have been raised against this agitation as a body—that deeds of violence have been committed on the part of people who come to Land League meetings; and the result of that has been that it is calculated to injure the cause of the tenant farmers of Ireland in public opinion with those likely to have the decision of the Irish land tenure. And you should discourage deeds of violence then. Then there is another objection, which will undoubtedly be palpable to you all. If acting violently to any class of people became the general thing the result would be that deeds of violence would become general, and then bring discredit on the Irish people. These are reasons that are sure to be felt."

Such are Mr. Biggar's reasons against committing the crime of murder; they may be briefly summarised thus:—Do not commit murder because—1. You may miss your man. 2. You may be tried by an unfair tribunal and convicted. 3. You will create a prejudice against you in England. 4. You may, perhaps, suffer yourselves if you murder too freely, because the country will become demoralised.

But this is not quite the end of this matter. The coarse ruffianism

of these addresses would be harmless enough in England; and it is, perhaps, those who forget that what is contemptible in England is dangerous, and known to be dangerous, in Ireland, who are disposed to treat Mr. Biggar's vile phrases as amusing whimsicalities. The consequence, if not the result, of one of these harangues was that within a district twelve miles square, which had been previously tranquil, no fewer than eighty-seven outrages were committed in a few weeks after its delivery!

It is a maxim of the English law that a man must be responsible for the natural consequence of his acts. If Mr. Biggar was not aware that the probable consequence of such speeches as those quoted above would be the actual result which followed them, he was probably the only man professing to be acquainted with Ireland and Irish feelings at the time who could be accused of such ignorance.

One more speech of Mr. Biggar's is worth quoting, for it throws some light on a crime which has not been unfrequent during the present agitation.

Speaking at a Land League meeting in the autumn of 1880, he says:—

"Now you would not be justified—I can tell you this—in threatening the herd of a big grazier, you would not be justified in using any personal violence towards him; but, as I have told you, you would be justified, and thoroughly justified, in trying to persuade him to leave the occupation which he then followed, and try to get one which would be less injurious to his neighbours. (Cheers.) If this herd would refuse to take the laudable advice of his neighbours, why then other means might be used. For instance, the shopkeepers in the village might cease to supply him with the things he requires; he might get no assistance in any of his difficulties, and his position would become so intolerable that he would probably give up that occupation. Then, when the matter had gone so far, of course it would be inconvenient for the landlord to look after his cattle himself. (Laughter and cheers.) Well then, you know, when there is no one to look after the cattle, if by any means—of course I have told you before that above all things you should not attempt to maim or injure the cattle of anyone, because no one could defend conduct of that sort—but I tell you what I might say on this subject, that there is no law, human or divine, that would force you to look after this man's cattle if you were not in his employ, and if you found the cattle straying on the road it really would be nothing criminal to avoid taking any notice of the cattle. (Laughter.) Then again, my friends, suppose the stone fences—any of the stone fences along the road-side—were broken down, and the holes were in them, of course you would not be called upon at all to repair these fences, and you would not be called upon to point out to this landlord who is doing such incalculable injury to the country—to point out to him that that injury had taken place in his fence." (Laughter.)

Chapter IV.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

Part II.

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

"A species of men, to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they cherish, in their turn, the disorders which are the parents of all their consequence."—*Burke.*

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS—THEIR UNIFORM CHARACTER—SPEECHES BY BRENNAN—M. O'SULLIVAN—R. LALOR—MUFFENEY—HARRIS—GORDON—NALLY.

We shall now proceed to quote, with but little comment, a few other passages from the speeches of speakers at Land League meetings during the year 1880. It must not be supposed, however, for a moment that the selection of a few brief portions can convey any adequate idea of the real nature of the Land League teaching during the period in question. To understand properly what were the doctrines which were deliberately implanted in the minds of the Irish peasantry, it is necessary to realize the persistency with which they were inculcated, and the almost absolute uniformity of their character. No isolated indiscretion, no single recommendation made in the heat and excitement of the moment, would deserve to occupy our attention. But here there is neither haste nor excitement. The same unfailing incitements to crime and to dishonesty occur over and over again with "damnable iteration," varied only by fresh extravagances of false illustration and misplaced metaphor, which at once stamp them as being the prepared and considered utterances of the speakers. Only by wading through page after page and volume after volume of the oratory of the Land League

spokesmen, can a just idea be formed of the flood of poison that rolled over Ireland during the first year of Mr. Parnell's agitation.

We will begin with a few passages from the speeches of the Secretary of the Land League, Mr. Brennan (1). These are his words :—

"From next Tuesday morning every man in this assemblage, every man in Ireland, has a right to have a gun (cheers), and not only has a right *to have a gun*, for you always had that right, *but you have now* a right to show it ; and before many weeks will have *passed away you will have a right to use* it. You will have a right to use it in shooting the rabbits and the hares (cheers) ; so I trust you will no longer live on Indian meal, but that you will have something better in the pot. (Laughter and cheers.)" (2).

Again, he says :—

"Well, I do not know whether I am preaching Communism or not, but if it be Communism to say that the earth was made by God for the people, and that the people have as much right to the earth as the free air of heaven, then I am a Communist, and I glory in it. (Cheers.) We had a good deal lately about giving to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar. Most readily and heartily do we accept that doctrine ; but if Cæsar is to get his due what compensation are Irish landlords to give you ? Unfortunately they cannot restore some of the things of which they have robbed you. They cannot restore the many happy homes in the land. They cannot restore the two millions of your people whom they murdered in '47 ; and this is the institution and these are the men that some land reformers told us that we should make a fixity in the country. *France, when she was getting shut of her landlords, did not give them twenty years' compensation.* No ; *she gave them twenty feet of a rope.* (Cheers.) We are the followers of Stein ; we want to accomplish a peaceful revolution." (3.)

A little later on he appears inclined to abandon strict adherence to the policy of Stein, for he says :—

"When I think of these things I ask myself and I ask you what compensation are Irish landlords entitled to ?

'A Voice : Nothing.

"Mr. Thomas Brennan :When I advocate the programme of the Land League, and ask you to adopt it, I do injustice to my own feelings, for I believe the compensation most Irish landlords would be entitled to *would be a prison or a rope* (cheers) for having robbed or murdered the Irish people." (4)

Mr. Malachi O'Sullivan, a very prominent member of the Land League and a traverser at the trials, is responsible for the following :—

"I am here to-day in open insurrection to landlordism in every shape or form ; you must have that before you, you must have that in your mouths. If you are not

(1.) Mr. Brennan was one of the signatories of Mr. Parnell's "No Rent" Manifesto and a member of the Central Land League.

(2.) Teevnacreena, May 30th, 1880. (3.) Cardenstown, May 23rd.

(4.) Rosscahill, November 14th.

determined to have that you are not determined to have your rights Who can give them to you? Organise ! Organise ! Organise ! In other countries peasant proprietary has been established. In France the peasants were first in much the same way as we are. The people rose together as one man and won. Then I would like to ask you people to come together, only that we are a hundred years behind the French peasants ; we are not as determined as they were, but we might be. (Cheers.)" (1.)

Mr. R. Lalor's words at Athy can hardly be called an effective protest against murder. As to his assertion that the Land League controlled the crime, as has been shown (2) it is simply the contrary of the fact. He says :—

"How many have been shot in this country, or deprived of their lives, since this Land League commenced ? No, I am convinced that only for the National Land League there would have been ten murders to the one since it commenced. *What we have, and what the Land League has to try, is to show you another road besides shooting those men, because they are not worth shooting. (Cheers.)* Recollect who these poor wretches are, these landlords. They are foreigners. You can judge of who they are by the people who gave them a footing here." (3.)

Mr. Muffeney has the merit of being frank. This is his advice, given in the name of the Land League :—

"The Land League counsels you to hold the harvest, and pledge yourselves, before God and your country, that you will not take a farm from which another has been evicted. *You can carry and use guns and pistols. You may shoot ground game and overground game, such as rattlesnakes, which you may point your gun at, and if they bite shoot them.*" (4)

One other passage may be quoted here, although the speech in which it was contained was delivered at a much later date than those hitherto referred to. The words are those of Mr. Boyton, (5) the organiser of the Land League, and were spoken on the 5th March, 1881. They were as follows :—

"We have seen plenty of landlords and agents that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night, but meet him in the broad daylight, *and if you must blow out his brains*, blow them out in the daytime. . . . If the police come at night and you have an old musket or an old pistol, and your wife or daughter is frightened, you can blow out his brains."

It is not necessary to continue these quotations, nor need we waste much time in recalling the brutal recommendations of such persons as Harris, Gordon, and Nally. Had it not been that their services were

(1.) Finea, May 27th, 1880. (2.) P. 10. (3.) Athy, October 10th.

(4.) Knockmore, October 31st.

(5.) Member of the Executive of the Central Land League. Messrs. Egan, Sheridan, and Boyton are the gentlemen whose services have been proffered by Captain O'Shea, on behalf of Mr. Parnell, as persons "who would use all their exertions, if placed in a position to do so, to advance the pacification of the country." It must be allowed that if the Triumvirate are half as successful in laying the wind as they have been in raising it, their efforts are likely to produce most happy results.—See Letter of Captain O'Shea to the *Times*, May 19th.

thoughout the agitation accepted by the Land League ; were it not that they spoke openly and frequently at Land League meetings ; and were it not that no rebuke of any kind from those who led the agitation ever reached them, they might be passed over as altogether too contemptible for notice. Remembering, however, the facts stated above, and remembering too that the counsels which they were permitted to give in the name of the Land League were faithfully followed over and over again, by those to whom they addressed themselves, it is perhaps best to give a few specimens of what they actually said.

Mr. P. J. Gordon, speaking at Abbeyknockmoy on the 3rd October, speaks thus :—

"Well when I arrived in Clonbur I had the *pleasure of hearing* that some great land robber [Lord Mountmorres] was murdered or shot himself."

Again, he says :—

"There has been a return asked in the House of Commons the other night for the number of cattle slaughtered in Ireland maliciously the last two years. *I say the cowardly fellow who would slaughter the sheep belonging to the landlord would not have the courage to slaughter the landlord himself.* I tell you I'd neither injure the sheep nor cow of the land robber who threw me on the world to starve. I would say with the fellow who had his white trousers destroyed by a mad dog, '*I will neither beat you nor abuse you, but I will cry mad dog till the people hunt you down and kill you.*'" (1)

It is interesting to know what is considered the appropriate treatment for a "mad dog" in Ireland, for at a meeting at which Mr. Dillon, M.P., Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., Mr. Brennan, and Mr. Walsh were present, we find a gentleman who lays down the unwritten law in the following terms :—

"One passage of the resolution must apply to everyone, that no one should take a farm from which anotner has been evicted. He should *be as a mad dog.*"

But to return to Mr. Gordon. On the 13th June we find him telling the people "not to pay or obey the Government of England, or any other Government which is inclined to rule you with an iron hand. If you are evicted the Land League will assist you." A few days later he says :—

"The only way that you have, to let the Government see that you are not cowards any longer is to arm yourselves, and if you have no way of getting the rifle sell the old cow and buy one. You have a privilege now to buy a gun, and if you can afford to pay for it, you can be a policeman in town with your gun on your shoulder."

(1.) Caherlistrane, November 14th.

This is how Mr. Parnell's policemen are recruited !

The following passage is instructive :—

"In referring to the land sharks and land grabbers, unfortunately we have them in our midst. I ask you in the name of Ireland to treat them with contempt, pass them by, don't speak to them in the fair. (A Voice : Give them what Lord Leitrim got.)

"Mr. J. W. Nally : You are too cowardly to do that.

Mr. Nally's services to the Land League were frequent, and his usual adjuration to the people took the form of asking them to "use his pills"—a playful synonym for committing murder. He it was, too, who wished the people "to unite to scatter that blasted Government [the British] with dynamite and gun-cotton ;" who suggested also that a ten shilling licence should be taken out to entitle the owners to shoot the police and landlords as vermin.

But it is useless to waste any more space in reciting the utterances of Messrs. Gordon and Nally. They were tried, together with other Land League supporters, at Dublin, and discharged, the jury not being able to agree. They have always claimed to be ardent supporters of Mr. Parnell, and their services have never been disavowed.

Chapter V.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

Part III.

SPEECHES INCITING TO REBELLION AND TREASON.

"Everyone who is convicted of High Treason must be sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he is dead.

"Everybody who in the case of felony would be an accessory before the fact is, in the case of High Treason, a principal traitor." *Digest of the Criminal Law.*

Amendment to the Address proposed by Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P. : . . "That this House regards with grave concern the action of the Executive in Ireland whereby . . . . hundreds of your Majesty's subjects in Ireland are detained in prison without the right of Habeas Corpus, many of them on the alleged suspicion of offences for which, even if duly tried and found guilty, they could not have been subjected to punishment as severe as that which they have already undergone."—February 9th, 1882.

SPEECHES BY BOYTON—BRENNAN—WALSH—NALLY—M. O'SULLIVAN—T. D. SULLIVAN—SHERIDAN—DILLON.

The passages we have referred to are not by any means the most significant indications of the nature of this "constitutional agitation" which was going on till it was rudely interrupted by a "brutal and tyrannical Government." Again we will let the Land League speak for itself, and the lesser lights shall begin the recital.

Let us commence with an official of the Land League, the "Paid Organiser," Mr. Boyton. He says :—

"Men of the North, I ask you to-day, and I do so in the name of God—in the name of your common country—I ask you to sound the knell of despair to the power of Britain. And I to-day want you to lift your voices and hands [all hands raised] to fight for the green soil of Erin. (Cheers.) There are great but misguided men who state and write that we are leaving aside the great, glorious cause of Irish nationality, and occupying our attention with the lesser one. It is false. Until you can take the green colour, which God Almighty printed on that ground, you can never separate the greater from the lesser of these glorious causes. Furthermore, I say to you that for the short time this movement has been on foot no leader ever gained as much for us as our illustrious Parnell."

Again he says :—

"Now, I want to see side by side with every police barrack a good rifle club. You have a right to organise these clubs, and to purchase these rifles under the British Constitution until they make any patching or tinkering of it again, and you have also the right to keep the arms, and to also keep your temper, and do not allow yourselves to be trapped by my language, or by the inflated bombast of any other man, into making 'a fool' of yourselves. Do not go boasting, but go to work honestly, determinedly, like men, first to create free crops, next to keep your farms until the sheriff comes, backed by the soldiers, for they are not policemen—(cheers)—backed by the army of occupation in Ireland. I tell you, in God's name then, that in adopting this resolution you are doing something serious, and more than may appear here to-day. You are sending a message beyond the sea. Do not deceive them. They would if they could send one hundred thousand men like me, with the benefit, the advantages of a freeman's education, and of a soldier's training—(cheers)—to help you ; but they do not think—and I do not think—you ought to be helped if you do not shew some determination to be no longer like a rope of sand." (1.)

He continues :—

"Therefore your work to-day is not agitation ; it is not speeches, or bands, or music, or banners ; it is the solid stern work of combining to bring on its knees the mainstay of the English rule in Ireland. (Cheers.) Mr. Dillon has told you, that which we knew all along, never to look for anything from any British Government, no matter how Liberal, that you are not prepared to tear out of their teeth. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone has instructed his satellites in Ireland to institute proceedings against the men who have led the people in this movement, to prosecute them for conspiracy. Well, for my own part, in the cause of justice and humanity, that I believe this cause to be, I am proud of the name of conspirator. (Cheers.) The last conspiracy that I was engaged in politically numbered 100,000 Irishmen with rifles in their hands—(loud cheers)—and that conspiracy succeeded in doing in the United States of America what we propose to do with your help, with God's help and yours, here in Ireland, to blot out the stain of slavery. (Cheers.) Therefore, if we be conspirators, every man in that assemblage, I hold out my hand to him as a brother conspirator." (2.)

At Dunmanaway he recites the following anecdote, and gives his explanation of it :—

"There was a little story told by Mr. Parnell, at a meeting in the Rotunda, at the conclusion of his address, to the effect that a certain American gentleman came upon the platform and said, 'Parnell, there is twenty-five dollars, five for bread and twenty for lead.' Now that simple little bit of humour has put your hereditary enemy in a great flutter. Therefore, I am not authorised by the President of the Irish National Land League to tell you that was a *bonâ fide* transaction, that the man gave him twenty-five dollars. I am authorised to tell you here, and I came all the way down to Dunmanaway, that those twenty dollars are perfectly safe, and that as Mr. Forster, in the House of Commons on Friday night, refused to tell your representatives what he was going to do with the £30,000 of Secret Service money, and that he has displayed admirable reticence in doing so, we, in like manner, are not going to tell Mr. Forster what we are going to do with the twenty dollars that has since swelled into 20,000. The money gives 4 or 5 per cent. interest on it, and we are turning it into good round sovereigns, with the

(1.) Carndonagh, July 4th. (2.) Thurles, November 14th.

impr nt of Her Most Gracious Majesty upon them. Therefore I ask you in the name of G od, in the name of every honest Irishman, in the name of your long-suffering coun ry, to stick together like brothers, one and all. Shew us evidence that you are in ea nest to help us, and take a share in this twenty dollars by shewing us that you will s tand together. Daniel O'Connell never had half such a following on Tara or Mull ghmast as our illustrious young leader, Charles Stuart Parnell—(cheers)—and I tell you that if you stick together you will see that this assemblage will be historical in th e county of Cork. You will stand together for peasant proprietary for Ireland. (Cheers.) We have at the back of that more than great agitators had before. We have moral force, and we are going to use it; and, perhaps, we have something in the shap of physical force, but we don't want to use it. We may some day come down and see you, and talk about something else." (Cheers.) (1.)

From the paid organiser of the Land League, let us pass to the Secretary, and see what advice he gives on behalf of the organisation which he represents.

Mr. Brennan says :—

'I do not believe in the efficacy of Parliamentary representation in the English House of Commons. I believe that if this country is ever to be redeemed, socially or politically, it will be by the might of mind and might of arm of Ireland's democracy. I ask you to keep before your minds the one ultimate object, the sovereign independence of your country." (2.)

Again, at Westport, he declares himself in these terms :—

"It is the duty of every man to work to make Ireland a nation. I mean no mockery of freedom. I mean Ireland mistress of her own destinies—(cheers)—Ireland with a national army to guard her shores, Ireland with a national senate, and Ireland with a national government that will know no higher authority than the sovereign will of the Irish people." (Cheers.) (3.)

On May 30th, he says :—

'As an Irish Nationalist, I hope for and will work for my country's independence, and I believe that I cannot at present adopt a more feasible plan to accomplish that purpose than by the destruction of what has been the enemy's garrison in this country. ('Down with landlordism.') There will be very little use in talking of making Ireland a nation when what should compose that nation will have been swept away from the country. Let us then go on in this work for the destruction of landlordism. Let us take it ourselves, what are our manifest rights. (Cheers for Mr. O'Kelly, M.P.) Yes, cheer for your member—(cheers)—because in the House of Commons to-day there is not a more sincere Irish Nationalist or a more determined opponent of landlordism than James J. O'Kelly." (Loud cheers.) (4.)

Mr. Walsh (5), afterwards one of the traversers, early learned to appreciate the connection between the Land League and Fenianism.

(1.) Dunmanaway, May 30th. (2.) Carrick-on-Shannon, October 24th.
(3.) Westport, October 17th. (4.) Teevnacrena, May 30th.
(5.) Member of the Central Land League.

He says :—

"I would ask the men of Sylaun not to marry any young lady who works for 6d a-day, and I'd ask the women of Sylaun not to marry any man unless he is a member of the Land League or a Fenian. You will find you will do more by works of this kind than if you were cheering for a lifetime." (1.)

The same gentleman, speaking at Milltown, says :—

"Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, Mr. Brennan, and others, recognise that the first distinction of national independence is the successful carrying out of the Irish National Land League." (2.)

In October we find Messrs. Nally and Walsh together on the platform at a Land League meeting at Shrule.

Mr. Nally delivered himself as follows :—

"But I am firmly convinced that by first uprooting this system . . . by first laying the foundation stone of national independence in the destruction of Irish landlordism, you will then be able gloriously to build that edifice for which Emmet died, and for which Lord Edward bled. I have been told that there are here to-day only two parties, the National Land League and the Fenians. (Cheers for the Fenians.)

"Mr. Walsh: Three cheers more for Fenianism. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Nally: Are we to be told here to-day that the National Land League and the Fenians cannot unite? We have only one enemy—the English Government. For seven hundred years they have tried to destroy our nationality. We lived through the Elizabeths, the Marys, and the Victorias, and we are destined to-day to live until our nation is a glorious one—an independent one and a glorious one. The cause of every tenant farmer who is a Land Leaguer is the cause of every man who is a Fenian." (3.)

The following extract is from a speech by Mr. M. O'Sullivan, already referred to as an active member of the League (4.) :—

"It is not by words and by cheers that we can accomplish that end. If it were it would be easy enough to gain independence. ('Hear, hear.') Let us look to America to-day. Let us look to every country in the world. Can you point me to one——? What is it that has gained it? The sword, and the sword alone; the rifle and the man——. These are the only powers that can gain your independence, and any person that tells you the contrary, tells you a lie. 'What rends in twain the dungeon's chain?' 'The sword.' What is it that will right the oppression——? What is it that will right Irishmen, and no man will say there is no oppression——? Who can stand here and tell me that the Irish tenant farmer is not a slave, a slave to his landlord? 'What rends in twain the despot's chain?' If we had no despots, if we had not the prison, we have got too much of it. It is only in one way we can get rid of it. What is the —— of the sword? To free the slave; to make all men free before the nation. Are Irishmen cowards enough that they will not stand up and free themselves as other nations have done? It rests for you to say whether you will or not. This is a great day. Will you ask them another year to send you alms? Will you not stand up and say to them to-day, when they are celebrating their anniversary

(1.) Caherlistrane, September 5th. (2.) Milltown, July 25th.
(3.) Shrule, October 31st.
(4.) The omissions are owing to interruptions, during which the reporter was unable to continue his notes.

of independence, will you not say, 'You are our brothers, we are ready to sacrifice our lives for our country as you have done to free yours?' Will that cry go to the world? ('Yes.') Are you determined? ('Yes.') Will you have that in your hearts? ('Yes.') It is rarely you are spoken to like this. Men have come forward to gain notoricty to get into Parliament. They have duped you. The time has come now when men, no better than yourselves, mean to shake off the landlord yoke in this country, and also the yoke of British domination." (1.)

Mr. T. D. Sullivan is responsible for the following :—

'Now, one word in conclusion. There are people in this country who are foolish enough to think that if the farmers of Ireland were made secure in their holdings, if they were made comfortable and happy, they would forget the national cause of Ireland. That slander has been uttered upon the tenant farmers, who are the bone and sinew of the Irish race. Here to-day, I denounce it as a slander—(cheers)—and if I could believe that story for a single minute, I never would stand upon a land platform. But, my friends, I have a different opinion of the Irish race, and my belief is this, that as you make them strong, as you clothe them and feed them, and raise their hearts to a true perception of what the condition of the people should be, according as you educate them, and according as their young people grow up about them, reading and thinking and learning for themselves the history of their country and the history of the world, stronger and stronger will grow the spirit of Irish nationality in the hearts of the people." (Hear, hear, and 'Bravo.') (2.)

The next fragment is by Mr. Sheridan, a colleague of Mr. Parnell's in the Central Land League in Dublin :—

'Mr. Chairman and fellow countrymen, I feel proud at seeing you assembled here to-day in your thousands. We must assert our rights, and if we do not get them through our members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices *through the muzzles of 'Minié'* rifles as well as from those platforms. We have America at our back, and she is watching over us and helping us in the hours of our distress. (A Voice : 'Cheers for America.') There are evictions in all parts of Ireland ; the landlords are fighting against us with a strong hand. Organise yourselves, then ; join the National Land League, and by this means you will see your country what she once was, a free and prosperous country." (Cheers.) (3.)

He goes on :—

'God forbid that we will ever forget to make Ireland a nation ; and when I say Ireland a nation, I mean more than a green flag floating from Dublin Castle ; I mean Ireland for the Irish. If the government of Ireland . . . Most of us here will agree that the highest form of government is a republic. Well, you may establish an Irish Republic on Irish soil ; but as long as the tillers of that soil are forced to support a class, your Irish Republic would be but a mockery of freedom. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Dillon, who is always frank, declares himself thus :—

"It has been asserted, men of Tipperary, that the Nationalists of Ireland are hostile to the movement to set free the tenant farmers of Ireland and make them freemen in the land of their birth. (Cheers.) We come here to-day to a town where

(1.) Rainsborough, July 4th. (2.) Ennis, September 19th.
(3.) Lackagh, August 1st.

no movement can shew its head that is hostile to the Nationalists of Ireland ; and I say that when the Irish Land League has assembled in Tipperary a meeting so large as this, that the man who will, in the face of this meeting, tell me that the Irish Nationalists are against the Land League is nothing better than a common liar. (Cheers.) No, neither are the Irish Nationalists hostile to the Land League, nor is the Land League hostile to the Nationalists." (1.)

At Holyford, Mr. Dillon expresses the same idea with equal clearness :—

"This is the cause which every Irishman can go into, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be a Nationalist or not. It is a cause which the Irish Nationalist can go into, because its object is to break down and defeat the English garrison which holds this country for England. Its object is to clear the path for Irish nationality by emancipating all the people of Ireland from the control of English landlordism, and settling them in their own homes as free men." (2.)

Of course the sentiments contained in the passages above quoted are in a certain sense unobjectionable from the moral point of view. If men really do make up their minds that treason and rebellion are the only remedies for the misfortunes of their country, no one can well blame them for saying so. But what some of these speakers seem to forget is that treason and rebellion have their penalties as well as their pleasures. The individuals who produce this kind of talk have probably good reason to be thankful that they have aired their opinions in the British dominions. What is a playful exercise in Ireland might be a serious matter in the United States, or on the Continent. But this is not the gravest part of the matter. Mr. Sheridan may urge the people to join the Land League, and "to ring out their claims from the muzzles of their Minié rifles ;" or Mr. M. O'Sullivan may brag about using the sword, and not much harm may be done in the way of upsetting the British Empire. Neither of these heroes is likely to be called upon for an exhibition of his prowess. But the real mischief appears when week after week, and sometimes day after day, the record comes in of heartless and brutal murders or attempted murders of men shot down, not by rifles used in open warfare, but discharged in the darkness by the secret assassin.

(1.) Tipperary, October 31st. (2.) Holyford, October 19th.

Chapter VI.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

Part IV.

MR. PARNELL'S SPEECHES.

"Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the Crown, and skulked behind the laws.
. . . . . .
Weak arguments which yet he knew full well
Were strong with people easy to rebel."
Dryden.

SPEECHES BY MR. PARNELL—REMARKS UPON THEIR CHARACTER—SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—IN IRELAND—BANQUET SPEECHES—AMERICAN SPEECHES.

Hitherto we have not referred to the utterances of the Leader of the Land League in the direction of treason. It must not be supposed, however, that the omission is due to any lack of material. But Mr. Parnell's speeches stand upon a somewhat peculiar footing, and deserve, therefore, a special and separate notice.

It has been already observed that the material provided by the Land League for the edification of the British Parliament and of the English people, was of a totally different nature from that which it is considered desirable to present for the instruction of the Irish peasantry. The speeches which will be found below are a striking illustration of this proposition. It may be said, to use a mathematical figure, that Mr. Parnell's sentiments on the subject of treason "vary in proportion to the square of the distance." The difference between the hon. member for Cork in the House of Commons, and the "Uncrowned Prince of Ireland" starring it in Pittston or Cincinnati, is as great as that between the temperature of the pole and of the equator.

Let us first hear what he says upon the floor of the House. He is

explaining the object and purposes of the Land League, which he declares to be as follows:—

"The objects of the Land League are very simple. First, to prevent rack-renting; second, to enable tenants to become owners of their own farms by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years; third, to facilitate the working of the 'Bright Clauses' of the Land Act. Those are the objects which we have been working to bring to a successful issue. . . . I can only say that for my part I think at every meeting at which I spoke in Ireland, up to the time when the Chief Secretary sent extra constabulary into the starving localities of Galway and Mayo, that I took care to reprobate outrage and to point out that we did not wish outrage, but we wished to act in a peaceful and constitutional manner." (1.)

In the course of the same debate he again states the aim of the Land League, as prepared for English consumption, in these modest terms:—

"I should say that our desire was, by acting upon public opinion, to replace the bad portion of the law of the land."

Soon after this Mr. Parnell appears to have realised that, in the opinion of some, there appeared to be a marked discrepancy between the constitutional and loyal sentiments which so frequently animated him in the House of Commons, and the ideas which invariably suggested themselves to his mind when speaking outside the walls of Parliament. He accordingly favoured the House with an explanation and an apology, which he commences thus:—

"I would ask you to allow me to remove some misapprehensions which have arisen in the minds of many hon. members of this House with regard to my position in this land movement. I have been charged several times, and the impression seems extremely prevalent, with desiring to make the land movement of Ireland a lever for disintegrating the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad if I have stated the idea that prevails correctly, and I admit that isolated sentences which have been read from time to time from my speeches are, taken by themselves, capable of that construction. But these sentences have usually been taken from speeches which I have delivered in the open air; from speeches of a very brief character, in which I was unable thoroughly to explain the views which I then assumed, and still hold." (2.)

And then follows a long explanation of the speaker's views upon the ultimate result of the Constitutional suppression of landlords, and its probable effect upon the relations of England and Ireland.

It may seem strange that after this explanation the misapprehension referred to should still exist. Yet, beyond all doubt, it does exist in the minds of many. It is certainly most unfortunate that on none of the

(1.) Hansard's Debates, January 7th, 1881.
(2.) *Ibid*, January 17th, 1881.

occasions on which Mr. Parnell delivered himself of the opinions which he considers so unfairly attributed to him; neither on the platform nor in the Land League meetings; neither at banquets in Ireland, nor at Irish gatherings in America, did he find time to append the explanation which he vouchsafes to the House of Commons and the English Press.

For England there is the Constitutional agitation, the integrity of the Empire, and so forth; for Ireland there are the regiments of armed Irish and Americans, and the breaking of the last link between England and Ireland.

At Galway, in the presence of a Government reporter, the member for Cork is a little, but only a little, more explicit:—

"I expressed my belief at the beginning of last session that the present Chief Secretary, who was then all smiles and promises, would not have proceeded very far in the duties of his office before he would have found that he had undertaken an impossible task to govern Ireland, and that the only way to govern Ireland is to allow her to govern herself. (Cheers.) And if they prosecute the leaders in this movement, it will not be because they wish to preserve the lives of one or two landlords—much the English Government care about the lives of one or two landlords—('Nor we; away with them all')—but it will be because they see that behind this movement there is a more dangerous movement, to have a hold over Ireland; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism here, and they will fail, they have no chance of maintaining it in Ireland; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism in Ireland, their power to misrule Ireland will go too." (1.)

And again:—

"We will see that the people will not be swept from the country while there is money to defend them in the courts of law. The National Land League has plenty of money at its disposal for the purpose of defending the tenantry of Ireland. Your fellow countrymen in America will send you as much money as you want. Everywhere throughout the States I found the greatest anxiety to help you. Do not, then, be afraid: band yourselves together; organise yourselves—(cheers)—against the landlord system; and, believe me, the day is dawning when we shall have taken the first great step to strike down British misrule, and the noble dreams of Grattan, Emmet, and Lord Otho Fitzgerald, and of every Irish patriot, ought at all times to be brought to a triumph and realisation." (Cheers.) (2.)

Free from the observation of an unpleasant witness, however, Mr. Parnell becomes more explicit. Speaking at a banquet at Cork he says:—

"Now we are a party occupying an independent position in the House of Commons, pledged to remain aloof from every English party who will not concede to Ireland the right to home government; pledged, in the words of Mr. Fred. Lucas, to be a separate element in the Legislature, and, if necessary, 'disorderly, disorganising,

(1.) Galway, October 1st. (2. Beaufort, May 16th.

interfering with every business that may be transacted, as far as it is expedient or feasible.' (Cheers.) We can push the policy just as far as we like. We may never trench on it at all. We may let this weapon lie in its scabbard, as we did last session; but the weapon is there; you have it in your hand, and when all other resources have failed, it is as sharp and as potent and as powerful for a party of forty against the present Whig Ministry as it was for a party of seven against the last Tory Government." (Loud cheers.) (1.)

At a similar entertainment at Galway he says:—

"Well, we sailed for New York, and it was only on my entry to New York that I first commenced to appreciate the undeveloped power that is available for your succour, not only in the matter of charity, but in other matters of a very different nature if you call upon them." (Loud cheers.) (2.)

He continues:—

"Well, I pass from this subject of our countrymen abroad with this remark—that I feel confident that if you ever call upon them in another field and in another way for help, and if you can shew them that there is a fair and good chance of success—(enthusiastic cheering)—that you will have their assistance—their trained and organised assistance—for the purpose of breaking the yoke that encircles you, just in the same way as you had their assistance last winter to save you from famine." (Cheers.)

The following declaration is evidently for Irish consumption only:—

"At one time it is the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, at another time it is a Coercion Act, again it is the sending of extra police into counties, the proclamation of martial law. They cannot suspend the Habeas Corpus Act without an Act of Parliament, and they cannot pass a Coercion Act without an Act of Parliament, and so long as we are able to stand in Parliament I will undertake to say they will pass neither one nor the other. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) And I am sure that these forces are amply sufficient for the task which we all, Mr. Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, have before us, the task of breaking the neck of English misgovernment in Ireland, and chasing from the country the usurpation which has long had its heel upon our necks." (3.)

And later on in the same speech he says:—

"We stand to-day in the same position that our ancestors stood. We declare that it is the duty of every Irishman to free his country if he can. (Cheers.) We refuse to inflict needless suffering on the masses of our people. We will work by constitutional means as long as it suits us. (Great cheering.) We refuse to plunge this country into the horrors of civil war when she has not a chance; but I ask any man at this board, I ask any true Irishman, be he priest or be he layman, whether he would not consider it the first duty of an Irishman to do what he could to enable his country to take her place among the nations of the world. (Cheers.) If it could be shewn to him that there was a fair prospect of success from the sacrifice, I ask my reverend and lay friends whether they would not consider it their highest duty to give their lives for the country that gave them birth. (Cheers.) I call for no vain, no useless sacrifice. I

(1.) Cork, October 4th. (*Irish Times*' report.)
(2.) Galway, October 25th. (*Irish Times*' report.)
(3.) Waterford, December 6th. (*Freeman's Journal* report.)

don't wish to be misunderstood for a moment. Our present path is within the lines of the Constitution. England has given us that Constitution for her purposes. We will use it for ours." (Loud cheers.)

It is considerate of Mr. Parnell to undertake not to "plunge us into the horrors of civil war" just yet. Sometimes, however, he appears to forget his pledges. By the time he gets 3,000 miles away from the House of Commons, and the tyrannous restraints of English law, this is what Mr. Parnell has come to :—

"I have said that we are fighting this battle against heavy odds. I have also said that we feel confident of winning it. It has given me great pleasure during my visit to the cities of this country to see the armed regiments of Irishmen who have frequently turned out to escort us ; and when I saw some of these gallant men to-day, who are even now in this hall, I thought that each one of them must wish with Sanfield of old, '*O that I could carry these arms for Ireland.*' (Great applause.) *Well, it may come to that some day or other.* The peaceable and proper solution of the question has been roughly put to one side by the British Government, as it has so frequently put aside measures of reform for Ireland ; but if things are allowed to continue as they are in that country, I cannot help seeing that some day or other *the time will come when the landlords and Government* will get very much sharper and worse terms from somebody else." (Great applause.) (1.)

A few weeks later he says :—

" I promise on our side to fight this battle as pluckily as you can wish. (Loud applause.) Up to this time the landlords and Government have failed to give assistance, but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued, *but from the blood of the brave Connemara women who resisted the home destroyers shall spring up a power which will sweep away not only the land system, but the infamous Government that maintains it.*" (Cheers.) (2.)

At Cincinnati, in the same month, he is still more explicit ; there are none of the fine distinctions about the *link of the Crown, local government*, or the other common forms which we are accustomed to hear in speeches on this side of the Atlantic. This is how the gentleman who has taken the oath of allegiance talks :—

"Justice and the many, against injustice and the few, must win. (Applause.) With your help in keeping our people alive this winter I feel confident we shall kill the Irish landlord system. (Applause.) And when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. (Applause.) . . . And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. *None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.*" (Applause.) (3.)

(1.) Cleveland, Ohio, January 26th. (2.) Pittston, February 16th.
(3.) Cincinnati, February 23rd.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

PART I.

THE "IRISH WORLD."

"Anyone who proclaims himself or allows himself to be represented as a member of a party, will be understood as identifying himself with the rest, and giving his sanction to whatever is said or done, at least by the leaders or by any considerable portion of the party, except so far as he *expressly*, and *publicly protests* against it. He will be considered as a *partner*, not under the system of limited liability, but according to the rules of ordinary partnership which make each partner responsible for all the acts and all the debts of the firm. And since this is the mode in which it is known the public will judge, it is vain to complain that it is an unjust mode. A man who, with his eyes open, does that which he knows will convey a certain impression to the minds of others, must be prepared to take the consequences."

Archbishop Whately.

THE "IRISH WORLD"—ITS CHARACTER—ITS CONNECTION WITH THE LAND LEAGUE—OPINIONS OF MESSRS. PARNELL, BRENNAN, DAVITT, AND REDPATH, WITH REGARD TO IT—MR. REDPATH—PECUNIARY SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE "IRISH WORLD" TO THE LAND LEAGUE.

We now come to the consideration of another method by which the views of the Irish National Land League were, and indeed still are, disseminated among the people of Ireland. Perhaps the most effective way of stating the nature of this journal, and its connection with Mr. Parnell and his friends, will be to affirm certain propositions with regard to it, and then to adduce proofs in support of those propositions. The statements which the facts appear to justify are these :—

The *Irish World* is the advocate of—

(*a*) 1. Private murder.
2. Rebellion and treason.
3. Mutilation.
4. Plunder and robbery.
5. Assassination on a large scale by means of explosives.

(*b*) The *Irish World* is the recognised authorised organ of the Irish National Land League.

(*c*) The *Irish World* is under the special patronage of Mr Parnell.

(*d*) The Irish National Land League is alike the patron and pensioner of the *Irish World.*

(*e*) The *Irish World* is disseminated throughout Ireland with the knowledge of, and by the aid of, the Irish National Land League.

These are strong statements, and they require strong evidence to support them. Strong evidence, however, is forthcoming. Before considering the charges against the paper, it will perhaps be best to establish beyond doubt its connection with the Land League

The "Irish World" is the recognised authorised organ of the Irish National Land League.

This is beyond dispute. For months the special Irish correspondent of the *Irish World* was Mr. Brennan, the paid official secretary of the League. His signed contributions appeared weekly until the time of his arrest. Here is one of his letters:—

"No copies of the *Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the last two weeks. It is thought the Government is intercepting them . . . . . Let those who have so generously assisted us *in spreading the light* relax not in their good work. Let them continue to aid us in the Holy Work in which we are engaged. The *Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are made to keep it out."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

The date of this letter is March 12th, 1881, and is worth recording because, as we shall see later on, the "Holy Work of spreading the light," as understood by the *Irish World* at that date, was, to say the least of it, peculiar. Again, writing on January 2nd of the same year, the paid secretary of the Land League says:—

"In the name of the Land League I beg to tender to the readers of the *Irish World*, and to all co-operators, its sincere and most grateful acknowledgments."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

The nature of the co-operation for which this fervent gratitude is expressed, will also appear a few pages further on.

In August, 1881, Mr Parnell was openly challenged in the House of Commons with his connection with the paper in question, which was

declared to be the official organ of the Land League. Mr. Parnell denied that it was his "official organ."—"Unofficial then?" was the reply. —"Yes," said the Land League leader. It is not of much importance by what particular formula Mr. Parnell chooses to describe his relations to the organ of assassination; the public are able to form a sufficiently clear idea from the facts themselves. But it is worth while to put the admission on record.

The "Irish World" is under the special patronage of Mr. Parnell himself.

If this fact were not otherwise manifest, it would be made clear by the following extracts from a telegram despatched by "Special Cable to the Editor of the *Irish World.*"

It commences thus:—

"The Land League has scored a victory. The ten-to-two disagreement of the jury in face of the tremendous pressure of the Court, is everywhere accepted as having the effect of an acquittal."

The conclusion is as follows:—

". . . . Thanks to the *Irish World* and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear for its ultimate success."—Jan. 26th, 1881.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

To the diligent reader of the *Irish World* it certainly seems no unnatural to thank that journal for the disagreement of the jury. (1.)

The Irish National Land League is alike the patron and the pensioner of the "Irish World."

Enough has perhaps already been said to carry conviction on the first point of this proposition, but one or two facts throwing light upon the same subject are so remarkable that they cannot be omitted. For many months there has appeared regularly in a prominent position in the *Irish World*, the following passage:—

"*Davitt's Advice.*—By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. Its power for good is wonderful; it is an all-strengthening force among the Irish people, and I cannot speak too strongly on the subject."

"MICHAEL DAVITT at St. Louis."

(1.) Immediately before the opening of the trial here alluded to the following threat appeared in the *Irish World*: "I dare them to convict," says the writer; "I say dare agree advisedly. Let my words go forth. Accursed be the juryman who will dare to find these men" (the traversers) "guilty of any crime against the people of Ireland."—Nov. 20th, 1880.

For an almost equally long period, this valuable advice was followed by a no less valuable "exhortation," to this effect:—

"*Redpath's Exhortation.*—You don't know how much they appreciate the *Irish World* over in Ireland, and one of the things I seek most to impress upon you here in America, is the necessity of supplying them at home with literature of the right sort. I would urge this in the strongest terms."

(Signed) JAMES REDPATH.

We shall see what was the nature of the "literature of the right sort," whose "influence for good was so incalculable;" but first we must say a word or two in passing with regard to this James Redpath whose opinion seems to be so highly valued by the unofficial organ of the Land League. He is the gentleman to whose utterances Sir William Harcourt called attention in the House of Commons. (1.) He it was who, speaking on the same platform as Mrs. Parnell, delivered himself as follows. After alluding lightly to "a dastard, a flunkey, a coward and a parasite by the name of Hepworth, who disgraced America by toadying to an infamous wretch and debauched young man" (the "debauched young man" apparently being the Duke of Edinburgh), he proceeds thus:—

"Ireland's landlord system is the old feudal system of tenure, and the landlord regards the tenant merely as a machine for making rent for him, and such men, I say, with all deference to the ladies, should exist in only one place,—hell . . . . . Many of you may think I am prejudiced when I say that the Scotch Presbyterians are superior to the Catholics of Ireland. I'll tell you why. When they were *oppressed by landlords they shot them down like rabbits.* About thirty years ago there were more landlords shot than rabbits, and I think it was perfectly legitimate, for the landlords were only beasts of prey. (Loud applause.) I can't conceive a more terrific indictment against the Catholic countries than the fact that 'they have treated these landlords leniently. . . . I must say that Irishmen are cowards. I don't like them to apologise for the shooting of landlords."

It appears that Mr. Redpath over-estimated the sensibility of the ladies, for we read that "at the close of the speaker's remarks Mrs. Parnell was loudly called for, and received a perfect ovation when she appeared. She spoke for upwards of twenty minutes, and gave a brief view of the work of the Land League up to the present time, and expressed her heartfelt sympathy with its future." It is not recorded, however, that the allusions to the ultimate home of landlords, or to the means by which they were to be sent there, occupied her attention, or greatly agitated her.

One more remark remains to be made with regard to Redpath,

(1.) Redpath was present and spoke at the Land League Convention held in Dublin, in September, 1881.

which is both amusing and instructive. This friend of the Land League and defender of murder was very properly denounced in the House of Commons by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who not only disclaimed any sympathy with his opinions, but even refused to recognise him as a compatriot. Mr. Redpath, Mr. Sullivan declared, was a Scotchman. Whatever country, however, is really entitled to the distinction which must attach to the native land of that individual, there is no doubt that in the eyes of the unofficial organ of the Land League he not only was an Irishman, but deserved to be specially claimed as being such. Mr. Redpath, says the *Irish World*, is "*Hibernis ipsis Hibernior*"—more Irish than the Irish themselves. It is not of much importance whether Mr. Sullivan or the *Irish World* is correct, but the anxiety of anyone to claim kindred with the author of the speech we have quoted is significant.

The Irish National Land League is the pensioner of the "Irish World."

This requires no formal proof. It is not and never has been denied that by far the greater part of the money received by the League has come through the hands of the editor of that paper. For every shilling raised in Ireland for the purposes of Mr. Parnell's agitation a pound has been received through the agency of the *Irish World.*

The "Irish World" is disseminated throughout Ireland with the knowledge of, and by the aid of the Irish National Land League.

It is not necessary again to produce proof of this proposition, which to anyone who is acquainted with the *Irish World* is self-evident; but these leading facts may be briefly recalled:—

That Mr. Parnell has formally accepted the services of the paper.

That two of its regular correspondents, Messrs. Brennan and Egan are paid officers of the Land League.

That Mr. Brennan is found deploring the stoppage in the supply of the paper. (1)

(1) See ante p. 30.

Chapter VIII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

Part I.

THE "IRISH WORLD" (*continued.*)

"Thou shalt do no murder."—Exodus, Chap. xx.

THE "IRISH WORLD" ON MURDER—REBELLION—MUTILATION—PLUNDER—THE USE OF DYNAMITE—MR. PARNELL'S "PRACTICAL JOKE"—THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE "PRACTICAL JOKE."

The connection between the *Irish World* and the Irish National Land League having been thus established, it is necessary to enquire—What is the nature of the journal which is considered so valuable an ally; and what are the teachings which are calculated to be such a "wonderful power for good" in Ireland? (1)

To arrive at a satisfactory answer to this enquiry, we cannot do better than go back to the propositions formulated at the head of the preceding chapter, and give a few proofs, out of the many which might be cited, of the correctness of the charges which they contain.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Private Murder.

Here, for instance, is the way in which it describes the murder of an unfortunate man who was shot down like a dog in open day, riddled with bullets, and left to die upon the high road.

Agrarian Outrage in Mayo.

"There is an obscurity in this account also, but the fact and the omens remain. Meehan shot on one side to day; Feerick shot on the other side to-morrow.

(1) See ante p. 31. Letter from Michael Davitt.

Somebody said long ago that 'it made no difference among neighbours who dies first.' Those killings on both sides have been too long continued for us to hope that they will be discontinued. *But every pistol shot will stimulate action;* of the thieves to guard the stolen goods away in the darkness; of the true men to let the light in on the darkness and the true owners in on the stolen goods. There are stirring times before us. Awaken your neighbours. It will soon be daylight."

Another foul and brutal murder is committed, and this is how the "unofficial" organ of the Land League heads the paragraph describing the death of the victim—"Another Land Thief executed."

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Rebellion and Treason.

It would be sufficient, in order to prove this statement, to say merely "See *Irish World, passim.*" Almost every page of every copy contains incitements direct or indirect to the open display of Irish disaffection; but one or two passages may be cited as examples merely.

The two following are from the letters of an individual who has for more than two years been the most regular and most voluminous correspondent of the *Irish World.* "Transatlantic" (for that is his *nom de plume*) writes thus:—

"Irishmen, cheer up! be brothers! fall in! Study military knowledge night and day, Sunday and holiday. The day of your emancipation is nearer than you suppose."

Again:—

"A hearty coming together of our scattered race—the 'sea-divided Gael'—with honest and courageous leaders, and united watchword, 'Free Lands in Free Ireland,' we have in those elements the material power, not only to free our island from the felon grasp of the English aristocracy, but to follow the felons if we think it best into their own country, and there defeat them in the open, and in their cities, and thus destroy the 'British Empire,' the greatest scourge which the human race ever experienced."

The following is apparently editorial matter:—

"Thank God that the huge political structure that has been built up by robbery, and which goes by the name of the British Empire, is crumbling to pieces. The sooner it is destroyed the better for humanity."

Here is a letter in the same paper:—

A Physical Force Man who believes that the sword alone will Right Things; but he wants Irishmen to know their Duty before they take it.

Poquonock Conn.—To Editor, "Irish World."

"Enclosed find 3 dols. 25 cents to spread the light; from Mrs. Bement, 1 dol.; Patrick Callaghan, 1 dol. Put me down for 25 cents every month. I wish

that the *Irish World* were at the hearth-stone of every house in Ireland. Oh to God that it had been in Ireland ten years before the rising of '67. I am a physical force man, and believe that before Ireland gets anything from England she must use the sword, but before using it Irishmen must know their duty, and that duty is truly taught them through the *Irish World*.

"'What rights the brave? the sword;
"What frees the slave? the sword.'

"For the last three years I have sent 324 copies to Ireland, and I call upon Irishmen and friends to liberty, with all the earnestness I possess, to send the *Irish World* into Ireland and thus most practically free its people."—Yours sincerely,

B. QUINLAN.

Of course tomfoolery of this kind is contemptible enough, and under ordinary circumstances harmless enough. Mr. Quinlan's twenty-five cents will probably not do much harm to the British Empire, and England is likely to survive "Transatlantic's" foul-mouthed threats; but when we come to see what "spreading the light" really means, and what is the practical application that is given to "physical force," and the "doctrine of the sword," we shall perceive that such incitements as those quoted are not as harmless as we might at first be tempted to suppose.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Mutilation.

Here is a contribution to the paper which leaves no doubt on the subject:—

"Mr. Smyth. M.P., is quite willing now-a-days to do not a thing that shall 'disturb society,' and quite agrees with all the respectables (idlers) of society that a mixture of *good* (devils) landlords would benefit society. As to pulling down what John Mitchell designated the '*pirate fly of Britain*,' as to getting Irishwomen to fling out vitriol upon the ruffianly soldiery whom English felony may send over to Ireland, as John Mitchell taught Mr. Smyth soon after his college days; tut, tut, the Mr. Smyth of to-day is not that kind of patriot at all. He would not now after the teaching of O'Connell take the liberty of Ireland if it cost one drop of blood—not he! not he!"

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC.

This passage requires one or two comments. In the first place it must be remembered that Mr. P. J. Smyth, against whom this brutal attack is directed, is an Irishman and a patriot, who has shown a devotion to his country's cause, and a readiness to suffer for her sake, to which no one concerned in the present agitation can pretend.

In the second place, the horrible effects of the particular torture

which the *women* of Ireland are here asked to inflict must not be forgotten.

And lastly, it must be remembered that at the time this appeared the *Irish World* was active in the service of the Land League; and that Mr. Parnell's warm telegram of appreciation and thanks followed its publication by a few weeks only. (1)

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Robbery and Plunder.

Here, for instance, are some instructive passages throwing light upon this proposition. The first is particularly valuable when read by the light of the letter which appeared in the same column, purporting to be signed by the paid secretary of the Irish National Land League.

"London, consisting of 4,000,000 of the wealthiest people in the world, is at the mercy of its criminal classes, who number a quarter of a million, guarded by only 2,500 regular troops, 10,000 policemen, and 10,000 men in volunteer companies—the latter mere holiday soldiers. *Make a note.* Spread the light! O spread the light!"

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC. (2)

Those who are acquainted with "Transatlantic's" effusions, know well enough what "spreading the light" means in this context. In the same column in which this letter appears there is another which runs as follows:—

"No copies of the *Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the last two weeks. It is thought the Government is intercepting them. . . . . Let those who have so generously assisted us in *Spreading the Light* relax not in their good work. Let them continue to aid us in the holy work in which we are engaged. The *Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are being made to keep it out."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

This is the sort of thing which has been distributed throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, under the *imprimatur* of the Irish National Land League; this is the literature which the founder of that organisation believes will be such an incalculable influence for good.

Here is another example of the way in which the "holy work" is assisted.

"PLENTY OF KINDLING WOOD IN ENGLAND."

"I have filled my letter with arguments, recommendations, and proofs to show my countrymen the weak parts of the British Empire, and to teach them

(1) See p. 31. (2) Paper of May 14th, 1881.

where and how to strike. There is plenty of dry kindling wood in England and Scotland to set the whole working population in a blaze. The farm labourers, the miners, the factory hands, the million of paupers disinherited from the common lands of the rich, one hundred and eighty-six thousand imprisoned English criminals, the half-million of uncaught criminals in England, the failing English manufacturers, the idle work people and their starving children. Here are abundant materials for the prophet of the people. He must be somewhere in the crowd, at present obscure. Let him come forth to save the people. *Spread the light* through England."

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC.

How the English factory hands, labourers, and miners will relish the duty assigned to them of ruining their own country in conjunction with paupers, felons, "Transatlantic," and his patrons of the Land League, remains to be seen.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Assassination on a large scale by means of Explosives.

Let the editor speak for himself.

"AN ARMY EQUIVALENT."

"Some think it is an open question whether the political agent called *Dynamite* was first commissioned in Russia, or first in Ireland. Well, it is *not of much consequence which of the two countries takes precedence in this onward step towards 'civilisation.' Still we claim the merit for Ireland.* True, the introductory blast was blown in England, and in the very centre of the enemy's headquarters. But the work itself was no doubt done by one or two Irish hands, which settles both the claim and the priority." (1)

This is the beginning of what appears to be a long editorial; and it is interesting to note that the man who either himself wrote, or at any rate inserted in his paper, this and other pieces of villainy of the same kind, is the man who has been selected to conduct Mr. Parnell's special emissary, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, through the United States.

Lastly, under this head we must quote one more reference to this same subject of dynamite which is conclusive, at any rate, as to what the Irish National Land League thinks of its use.

It may be remembered that in the winter of 1880-81, an unfortunate child was murdered in Salford by an explosion of dynamite. Reference was made to the subject in the House of Commons, and the President of the Land League thus expressed himself upon the matter:—

(1) June 12th, 1880.

"The only reason for this panic," said Mr. Parnell, "was that a tin containing dynamite was exploded at Salford; but the circumstances pointed to its being meant as a *practical joke.*" (1)

Mr. Forster, in reply, said that he was surprised at the manner in which the hon. member had alluded to what occurred at Salford, when he described the explosion of a can of dynamite as a *practical joke.* That explosion had caused the death of a poor child, and might cause the death of another person."—(Hansard's Reports.)

It is not necessary to enquire what would be the result of a few more *practical jokes* of this kind in the large towns in the North of England; but it is important to ascertain what was the Land League view of the occurrence as stated, not for the benefit of the English Parliament and the English people, but for the encouragement of the tenant farmers of Ireland and the subscribers in America.

Mr. Parnell's speech was delivered on the 22nd January, 1881. In the *Irish World* of the 29th January, there appears a letter from Mr. Parnell's own trusted official, the paid secretary of the committee of which he was the president. From the date it appears that the letter claiming credit for the murder must have been written almost on the same day as the speech in which it was disavowed was delivered. The letter runs thus:—

"All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion. *but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it.* Accidents can never occur in times like these. It is asserted that the regiment now quartered in the Salford barracks contains many Irish, and that Fenianism had been previously suspected among them."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

This is what the Land League wished to be believed in Ireland. Those who can persuade themselves that Mr. Parnell really regarded the incident as a practical joke, are entitled to their opinion. The perpetrators of the outrage were warmly welcomed by a portion of the Irish American Press on their return to the United States.

Such is the *Irish World*, such are its patrons. This chapter

(1) It is amusing to note that in the *Freeman's Journal* report, Mr. Parnell's suggestion that the murder was a practical joke is omitted.

may appropriately conclude with the words of the founder of the Irish National Land League, already quoted :—

"By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. *Its power for good* is wonderful. It is an all strengthening force among the Irish people, and I cannot speak too strongly on the subject."

MICHAEL DAVITT.

NOTE.—It should be stated in justice to the *Irish World* that the greater proportion of the objectionable matter which it contains is connected with Irish subjects, and usually furnished by contributors on this side of the Atlantic. Much of what appears in the paper on other topics is comparatively moderate; and, unlike the contributions to *United Ireland* mentioned in the following chapter, is often very ably written.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

PART II.

"UNITED IRELAND."

"Stand together for the right;
Stand together 'gainst the wrong;
Stand together in your might:
And the struggle won't be long.

For your strife's a moral war,
And waged with speech and pen;
And moral force is mightier far
Than all the swords of men."

"*United Ireland*," *November 5th, 1881*.

A MORAL STRIFE—CONNECTION OF THE LAND LEAGUE WITH "UNITED IRELAND"—INCIDENTS IN THE MORAL WAR—THE SPIRIT OF THE COUNTRY—PROPRIETORS OF "UNITED IRELAND"—THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL" ON THE LAND LEAGUE—THE "GUISE OF A PATRIOT"—"DREAMY YOUTHS"—THE FIRST CORRESPONDENT OF "UNITED IRELAND"—AND HIS ANTECEDENTS.

Hitherto we have devoted our attention chiefly though not exclusively to the earlier periods in the history of the Land League: it now becomes our duty to enquire how far the teaching of 1880 and the opening months of 1881 has been continued and insisted upon down to the present time. For this purpose it is again necessary to turn to the columns of a newspaper which will supply us with the information we are in search of in a definite and unmistakable shape.

United Ireland is the journal in question, and in quoting from it we may dispense with the preliminary evidence which was necessary in the case of the *Irish World*, in order to connect that paper with the Land League.

United Ireland is the organ of the Irish National Land League, just as much as the *National Reformer* is the organ of Mr. Bradlaugh.

When the career of the *United Ireland* as an independent Nationalist paper terminated, by its transfer from the hands of Mr. Pigott into those of the Land League, it at once acquired an importance and authority, as the exponent of the views of its new owners, which it is not easy to over-estimate. Owned and conducted, edited and distributed, by members of the League, it furnishes us with a useful guide to the kind of facts which its owners are anxious to disseminate among the Irish people, and to the spirit in which they wish those facts to be regarded. It is no exaggeration to say that *United Ireland* since it became the organ of the Land League has been one long and consistent series of incitements to outrage, and to law-breaking.

But it is best to let the paper speak for itself. In the same number in which the charming and irreproachable sentiments contained in the lines at the beginning of this chapter appear, is to be found the following heading: "Incidents of the Campaign." And this title, or the still more suggestive one of the "Spirit of the Country," is the regular mode of drawing the attention of the admirers of the "unwritten law" to the progress of the outrage campaign conducted under the auspices of the League.

Here is an account of the "Moral Strife," as described by the chiefs of the "Moral Band" by whom it is waged:—

"INCIDENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN."

"A Farmer Shot Dead."

"Peter Doherty, a young farmer, living at Carrigan, *who took a farm surrendered by another tenant* who was refused a reduction, was shot dead at his own door, on Wednesday night."

"A Story From Baltinglass."' (1)

"The youngest child of Mr. Thompson, of this town, died on Wednesday morning, and because this gentleman has incurred, in some way, the displeasure of the Land League, a carpenter would not be allowed to make a coffin for him. The crape on his door knocker was pelted with stones."

"Hounding Them On."

"A meeting of King's Co. magistrates was held on Saturday in Parsonstown, when resolutions calling on the Government to restore law and order were adopted."

To those unfamiliar with the "unwritten law," and with the peculiar views of those who rejoice at the ordinary law being "knocked

(1) This story is considered to be so valuable and instructive, that it is thought worth while specially to quote it from the *Dublin Express*.

into a cocked hat," this last paragraph may seem somewhat obscure. What it means, however, is this: that the magistrates of the King's Co. are held up to the execration of the readers of the *United Ireland* for asking the Government to try and put a stop to the outrages which are so graphically described in that paper. This is what is meant by "hounding them on."

Here are some more "Incidents of the Campaign."

"By Persons Unknown."

"On Saturday night at 11 o'clock an attack was made by twenty men with blackened faces on the house of Owen Curtin, of Mountmay. They fired shots into the house, and broke in the door. Curtin and his son were taken out of the house and beaten in the yard with the butts of guns. Old Curtin was then sworn that he would not dispossess a tenant on whom he had served a notice to quit. *Curtin was some time ago brought before the Kilavullen Land League for not giving an abatement to his tenant, and reprimanded.* On the party leaving Curtin's house they fired several shots, and promised to visit him again if he did not do as they wished. The police have been out making inquiries, but no arrests have been made, as Curtin and family say they do not know any of the persons who attacked them."

Here is a "moral strife" with a vengeance.

The next item is headed

"Attempt to Burn a Bailiff."

"On Monday night a most determined attempt was made to burn a bailiff to death at Creaden, in the County of Waterford. It appears that a couple of days ago a tenant of Earl Fortescue, named Hally, was evicted for non-payment of rent and a bailiff was put into possession of the farm. The bailiff in charge went to bed about 11 o'clock at night, and was awakened about two o'clock in the morning by the crackling of burnt timber, and jumping out of bed he found the dwelling house in flames. It was with great difficulty he got out of the burning house."

"A Bailiff Killed" is the title of the next "Incident in the Moral Strife," and it relates how an unfortunate man was brutally murdered, shot through the head in the darkness, the bullet passing out through his eye.

A passage headed, "A Land Agent Shot At," is followed by a paragraph entitled "The Dark Nights at Athlone," recounting how the ricks and turf of certain persons were burnt; "the victims had disregarded the injunctions of the Land League by dealing with a boycotted shopkeeper named Molloy." (1)

As before mentioned, the methods by which the "No Rent"

(1) This passage also is thought worth quoting from another paper, the *Ulster Examiner*.

doctrine is enforced, are sometimes described under the heading, "The Spirit of the Country." Here are some examples of that spirit:—

"Denying the Soft Impeachment."

"Richard Brown, agricultural implement maker, writes to the Wexford *People* to deny that he worked for boycotted persons at Adamstown *as charged by* the chairman of a local Land League."

The following shows that the individuals in Kilmainham are not the only "Suspects" in Ireland.

"Suspected of Paying Rent."

"A telegram from Carrick-on-Shannon states that large quantities of farm produce were burned on Wednesday night on farms near Readon and Ballyfaron, *the owners being suspected of paying their rent.*"

Then comes "A Midnight Warning":—

"A telegram of Thursday says, a party of armed, disguised men last night visited the house of a farmer named Michtel Walshe, at Barring, twelve miles from Cork, and cautioned him repeatedly not to pay his rent, or they would take his life. He said he would pay his rent, and would not be intimidated by them. One of the party then fired and wounded him, it is believed mortally. The tenants were about to pay their rents to Mr. Saunders, of Charleville. It is stated they are afraid now to pay. A man named Daniel Herlihy has been arrested."

Lastly, we may note another fine manifestation of the "Spirit of the Country," which is thus described:—

"Desperate Assault."

"A *woman* named Mary Carroll who recently took a farm from which a family named Dolan had been evicted, was fearfully beaten and kicked about the head at Newtown, near Ballinasloe, on Tuesday night, and lies in a precarious condition in the Ballinasloe Workhouse Hospital."

These extracts are enough for our purpose; unfortunately they are by no means enough for the proprietors of *United Ireland*. They are not picked specimens; they are simply a fair sample of the bulk. It is horrible and lamentable that these vile outrages should be committed at all, but that they should be blazoned forth in this way in a paper of which Mr. Parnell, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Egan, Mr. Justin McCarthy, and Dr. Kenny, are proprietors and patrons is startling even to those who are tolerably acquainted with the depth to which the Land League agitation has sunk.

Whether the incidents actually happened is comparatively unimportant; whether the descriptions which are contained in the *United Ireland*

are borrowed from elsewhere, is immaterial, what is important is the fact, which admits of no contradiction, that the accounts of these brutalities, whether real or imaginary, have been deliberately compiled and circulated in the form and under the titles already mentioned, by the responsible leaders of the Irish National Land League.

Of course there are two opinions upon most subjects. This is the opinion of that highly virtuous paper, the *Freeman's Journal*:—

"It is as wicked to libel an organisation as to libel a man, and what can be worse than to charge all kinds of crimes against the Land League *without one tittle of evidence* to support these charges? The Land League was at all times an open public organisation, carrying on its operations by open meetings and by addresses published to the whole world.

"There is not one grain of evidence connecting this organisation with the slightest injury to life, limb, or property. On the contrary, during its active operations its most prominent members denounced outrages of all kinds."—*November 17th*, 1881.

It is for those who have read the preceding chapters to form their own opinion as to the correctness of the *Freeman's* view, and the necessity for its virtuous indignation.

It may be after all that the *Freeman* itself might have done a little more in the way of "denouncing outrages of all kinds;" it might have been better if the article from which the following passages are extracts had not been written. The article relates to the capture and trial of a number of scoundrels who had been infesting the neighbourhood of Millstreet, under the name of Moonlighters; and the "informer" alluded to is a member of the gang, named Connell, who turned Queen's evidence against his accomplices:—

"In our caution to the *unwary and inexperienced* so short a time ago, we had no hesitation in conveying that the light of what happened before showed with electric clearness that persons would be found throughout the country seducing the *young*, the *hot-spirited*, and the *dreamy* into the paths of danger. . . . But it is enough to record to-day that a reported informer has already ten victims amongst the *ardent and impulsive* peasants of the South. . . . Whatever credence is to be attached to the prisoner's story, enough is amply exhibited for our purpose, namely, that, South, East, and West, the *unsophisticated, innocent poor people* are living in an atmosphere of spies and traitors, of plans and plots and perjury. Again we solemnly adjure our countrymen, especially the young, to beware the brand of the secret society-man, the Captain Moonlight; the Rory of the Hills; the Riband-man. There *is a snake in the grass.* There are Talbots in the Guise of Patriots." (1)

This is a remarkable article, and will appear all the more

(1) Talbot was a detective who acquired the confidence of the Fenian organisers, and then gave information to the police.

remarkable when we consider the facts to which it alludes. In the first place, it should be noted that for the actual outrages committed by the "Moonlighters" there is no single word of condemnation; the whole moral of the argument is "Don't do it, for you may be found out if you do." But that is perhaps an oversight. The allusions to the "hot-headed, dreamy youths,' the "innocent and unsophisticated peasants," are certainly somewhat startling by the light of the work which these playful but misguided infants set themselves to do. This is the programme of one night's amusement:—

"This lot of enclosed orders must be performed. Notice.—Good men, and self in person, to appear with arms, at an early hour, at James Twohy's on the night of the 30th December, 1881, bringing Healy's shears and bayonet out of the stock and false whiskers for Owen Riordan also."

Regimental orders, by Captain Moonlight, for appointed raids, 30th 12, 1881.

"No. 1. James Sullivan, to be shot in the leg. Mother and daughter to be clipped for dealing at Heggarty's.

"No. 2. John Linehan, for story-telling to Father F., clipped also.

"No. 3. Dennis Coakley, for turning out his labourers, clipped also.

"No. 4. John Murphy, shot in the legs, for paying his rent.

"No. 5. Another man, name unknown, to be shot in the legs for paying his rent.

(Signed and confirmed) CAPTAIN MOONLIGHT.

"Mary Coakeley, to be clipped for speaking to the police at Macroom."

There is certainly something rather comic, if it were not so serious, in the notion of the innocent but impulsive Owen Riordan wandering forth in his dreamy way, disguised in a pair of false whiskers, and armed with a gun and bayonet, shooting some unlucky man in the legs, or clipping an offending woman, in the freaks of his singular reverie. But these strange reflections are after all plain and easy to understand in comparison with the last passage which the *Freeman's* article contains. "There is a snake in the grass; there *are Talbots in the guise of patriots.*" Now that passage has one meaning, and one meaning only, in such a context. If this man Connell had not been a "Talbot," that is, an informer, he would have been a "patriot." He turned Queen's evidence, and therefore he is to be condemned, but the "guise of a patriot" is the guise in which this miserable ruffian presented himself to the "hot headed, dreamy youths" whom he appears to have led with such success.

Such is one at least of the contributions which the *Freeman's Journal* has made to the discouragement of crime and outrage in Ireland. Let those who wish to discover what is the "guise of a

patriot" read the account of the trial of Connell and his accomplices at the Cork Winter Assizes, for the year 1882. (1)

It would be impossible to conclude a review of *United Ireland* without some reference to its earliest and perhaps most remarkable contributor. In the very first number of the paper of which Mr. MacCarthy is a proprietor, appears a letter from a scoundrel of the name of O'Donovan Rossa.

The letter, which appears in the issue of the 13th August, is thus introduced:—

"The following, by O'Donovan Rossa, appeared in a recent issue of his paper:—'Irish landlords, we have a few words to say to you. It has been determined to give you warning that henceforward a record will be kept of all landlords who exercise their powers of eviction in Ireland, and for every such death sentence executed upon a tenant a death sentence will be executed by the Irish race against the offender's house, and the Irish race all over the world will give encouragement to the avenging angel."

Then follows a request to be furnished with the names of the landlords concerned.

Of course, as the Attorney-General for Ireland remarked in the House of Commons, this is a direct incitement to murder. That is nothing new for Mr. Rossa, but what ought not to be forgotten or overlooked, is that it is a letter of this nature from a ruffian of this type that the managers of *United Ireland* think desirable to pick out for insertion in the very first number of the journal through which they were addressing the people of Ireland. Mr. McCarthy and his companions in this last literary venture have a good deal to answer for. In another chapter we shall see how the advice which was so thoughtfully transcribed went home to those whom it was intended to reach.

(1) In his speech in the House of Commons in February, 1882, the Attorney-General for Ireland asked the following pertinent question: "But who defended 'Captain Moonlight'? It was sworn at the trial that the Land League was connected with these outrages. The defence was undoubtedly carried on by the Land League Where did the hundred guineas for counsel come from? Who paid the original retainer and the refreshers from day to day? The question had never been answered. Those fees were not paid from subscriptions."

CHAPTER X.

POPULAR FALLACIES WITH REGARD TO THE LAND LEAGUE.

"Intimidation means violence, or the threat of violence, and the threat, we all know, would do nothing without the perfectly understood reality behind it.

"It is an insult to our knowledge and our understandings to talk of restricting the interference of such organisations to 'moral suasion'; we know that it never stops there, and would be laughed at if it did; and we see every day instances of the extent to which the sense of crime and wrong dies out of the minds of both instruments and leaders."

W. R. Greg.

THE LAND LEAGUE AND THE REPRESSION OF CRIME—LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS AND AGRARIAN OUTRAGES—THE "WILD JUSTICE OF REVENGE"—INCORRECTNESS OF THE DEFINITION—LAND LEAGUE PROTESTS AGAINST OUTRAGE, BY MR. BIGGAR, MR. DILLON, MR. SEXTON, AND MR. PARNELL—MR. GLADSTONE AND MR PARNELL.

In dealing with the history of the Land League it would be undesirable to omit all mention of certain fallacies connected with it, and with subjects upon which it has declared its opinion; fallacies which seem likely to obtain credence among outsiders for no other reason than that no one has hitherto taken the trouble to contradict them.

For instance—*It is an absolute fallacy that the Land League has ever controlled or diminished outrages; and it is equally a fallacy to suppose that were the leaders of the League at this moment free to exert their influence, they would exert it in favour of the suppression of crime.*

Mr. Parnell asserted, in his speech at New Ross, that a suitable organisation among the tenants would render crime unnecessary. Here are the figures which show the almost exact correspondence between the number of Land League meetings and the number of agrarian crimes

in each county in in the year 1880, during which year, be it remembered, the Land League operations were absolutely unfettered.

County.	1879 Land League Meetings.	1879 Agrarian Crimes.	1880 Land League Meetings.	1880 Agrarian Crimes.	County.	1879 Land League Meetings.	1879 Agrarian Crimes.	1880 Land League Meetings.	1880 Agrarian Crimes.
Carlow	1	3	2	22	Tipperary (S.R.)	4	14	18	57
Dublin ...	1	1	8	7	Waterford ...	1	4	5	46
Kildare ...	0	12	10	30	Antrim ...	3	1	7	15
Kilkenny ...	3	8	13	31	Armagh ...	1	8	8	30
King's County	2	34	10	49	Cavan ...	1	35	15	73
Longford ...	3	16	11	31	Donegal ...	2	25	15	52
Louth ...	0	8	4	8	Down ...	23	10	6	20
Meath ...	5	19	10	41	Fermanagh ...	2	4	7	6
Queen's	2	5	13	18	Londonderry	4	7	4	14
Westmeath ...	1	36	16	35	Monaghan ...	2	8	12	19
Wexford ...	4	4	14	56	Tyrone ...	6	11	11	21
Wicklow ...	0	1	6	23	Galway (E.R.)	5	23	34	78
Clare ...	4	21	20	93	Galway (W.R.)	14	146	34	324
Cork (E.R.)	6	27	42	157	Leitrim ...	4	26	32	102
Cork (W.R.)	0	16	27	133	Mayo ...	37	178	55	343
Kerry ...	4	13	23	298	Roscommon	6	35	36	43
Limerick ...	3	27	17	186	Sligo ...	5	53	22	71
Tipperary (N.R.)	4	14	8	49					

It will thus be seen that, according to a fair average, a Land League meeting may be considered good for four outrages, the rate of production being higher in the Southern counties where the League is most thoroughly organised, and lower as a rule in Ulster and Co. Dublin, where the organisation took little root. Mayo—as might be expected from its being the birthplace of the Land League—carries off the palm in the number both of its meetings and its outrages.

It is a fallacy to suppose that the Land League leaders if at liberty would control crime.

At least this is the conclusion to which the facts seem to point. At no period has the total of agrarian crime been so high as in December, 1880. In December, 1880, the Land League was at the height of its power; it was interfered with by no Coercion Act, by no prosecutions, by no newspaper seizures. If the Land Leaguers are so ready to control crime in 1882, why did they not check it in 1880?

It is a fallacy to believe that the agrarian outrages which have recently taken place in Ireland are the "Wild Justice of Revenge."

This is a phrase of Mr. Parnell's, and the sentence, or the idea which it contains, has been repeated so often that there is a real danger of some persons actually going so far as to believe it. The danger is

not merely an imaginary one. For instance, here is an instance of what it leads to. The following is a quotation from a letter by a Mr. George Mitchell addressed to an English paper :—

"The shooting of innocent men and women from behind hedges is mentioned. I don't think any innocent men have been shot. I know for certain that some who have been sacrified to the desperation of a ruined, starved, and outraged nation have been 'verily guilty.'"

This would be wicked if it were not merely foolish. Mr. Mitchell of course has been misled by the popular notion that the victims of agrarian crime in Ireland during the last two years have been the landowning class. The misconception ought to be entirely removed by the following words taken from the charge of Judge Fitzgerald, addressed to the grand jury at Cork, in January, 1882. He says :—

"The totally different character of the crimes we have had to deal with here and on a similar occasion twelve months ago or at periods still further back, cannot fail to have struck you. I have not had before me during the present protracted sitting a single case of outrage upon one of the upper classes. We had no case of a gentleman's life being attempted, or a landlord's or an agent's house being broken into, or one of the aristocracy threatened in any way. They have been, one and all, outrages committed upon the poor and the humble; and I have indeed felt for these unfortunate people, living in lonely houses on the mountain side and away from all succour, possibly with very humble means of securing food or other necessaries."

Up to the present time the total number of persons actually killed during the past year is twenty-one. The attempts to commit murder have reached the formidable total of sixty-eight, and the fact that several hundreds of persons have been under personal protection has probably saved a large number of lives. There have been no less than one hundred cases of aggravated assault, not including sixty-seven assaults on police and process servers. Not one landlord has been murdered during this period. (1)

But to return for a moment to Mr. Parnell's description of the Land League murders as being the "Wild Justice of Revenge." Never was there a definition which more widely departed from the truth in every word which it contained. The crime which has characterised the present agitation is *not wild*, is *not justice*, and is *not revenge*.

It is not wild, for it is one of the basest characteristics of this reign of terror, that the crimes which it produces are, in almost every case, deliberate, calculated, planned attacks, always upon the defenceless, always upon the unprotected, always upon the unresisting.

(1) These figures do not include the first three months of 1882, which would add considerably to the total under each head.

It is not necessary to pause to enquire into their justice. Even were they what crimes in Ireland have sometimes been, they would not be just; and the reflection gives an occasion for the expression of a protest against the loose habit into which some persons in England have at times allowed themselves to fall, when they have spoken of the murder of unpopular and possibly harsh landlords as being a species of rude justice. The step between condemning harsh and cruel action under the law, and condoning the assumption by any individual of the terrible responsibility of inflicting death upon his fellow-creatures is so wide, that to ignore it, or even to seem to ignore it, is to do incalculable harm in any country, in Ireland more than in any other country. But once for all the idea should be dismissed that the men and women on whose persons and whose property these barbarities are committed, are landlords or anything of the kind; they are simply men and women who have dared to be honest, who have striven to be true.

And lastly, as to the third point of Mr. Parnell's definition, which speaks of these crimes as "acts of vengeance." They are not acts of vengeance; they are acts of deliberate cruelty and tyranny, inflicted for the sake of propping up a vile system, for the purpose of annexing other people's property, and of establishing the will of an illegal organisation. They are the means used to punish the innocent and to shield the guilty, and are in no sense of the word, good or bad, vengeance or revenge.

It is a fallacy to believe that the leaders of the Land League have made any effective protest against outrage.

Some protests they have made, but they were neither effective nor effectual. The following are samples.

Mr. Biggar's protest we have already quoted :—

"We do not recommend shooting landlords," says the member for Cavan. "That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it."

Or again :—

"It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons."

Strange to say, these strictures and the explanations by which they were accompanied did not produce the required effect; quite the contrary. (1)

Nor are Mr. Dillon's protests very impressive :—

(1) See p. 48.

"I wish to tell the landlords, that while we prevent every act of outrage upon their class, that if they undertake, as indicated in this speech, to repeat the deeds of past years, I think I shall say we have at our disposal means which shall make them bitterly repent the day."

Or again :—

"Now, I want to point out to the landlords that we have advised the people of Ireland always to carry on this agitation peaceably, and to injure no man in the course of it, but I wish here to tell the landlords of Ireland that if they take the law into their hands and declare war on the Irish people, I believe the Irish people know how to defend themselves,—('We will,' and cheers)—and I believe, what is more, that the Irish people have got in their possession a great many of those tools which the landlords considered were their exclusive right to possess. (Cheers.) Furthermore, I tell the Irish landlords that it is the right of every Irish tenant to have the same arms that an Irish landlord has, and that the day is gone by when the Irish landlord can turn his house into an arsenal, and have his thousands of guns and his pistols to be used against the people, and that it shall be considered a crime for an Irish tenant to hang his rifle over his mantelpiece. (Cheers.) We mean not to break the peace, we mean to carry on this great movement peaceably and orderly, but I tell the man who breaks the peace on the Irish people, that he and his order will repent it, and they will before very long learn to know that they have made a very false step both for themselves and for the privileges which they sought to defend."

Mr. Sexton also is found protesting, and this is how he does it :—

"There is one point upon which this resolution is silent, and I think it my duty to say that if any man be found among you to violate the rule which you have laid down—if any man be found who takes a farm from which another has been evicted—it is your duty, it is your right, to make evidenced the feeling which the action of that man caused in your minds. You have no idea—I am sure none of you would commit an outrage. Outrage hurts our cause. It may gratify the feelings of one man, *but it raises the cry for coercion*, which may, perhaps, interfere with the progress of our movement, and do material hurt."

It may be that diligent enquiry would reveal other protests even more forcible than these tremendous denunciations! It is to be hoped so; but while Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Sexton sat at the same council table as Messrs. Biggar, Brennan, Sheridan, Boyton, and Kettle, it is hardly to be supposed that their hearers should be much impressed by these uncontrollable outbursts of indignation.

Mr. Parnell's protests deserve special mention. The first which he vouchsafed has been already recorded. (1) "Murder," he declared, "was an entirely unnecessary measure of procedure, entirely unnecessary and absolutely prejudicial where there was a suitable organisation among the tenants."

It is no use breaking the sixth commandment where there is a local Land League. That is certainly satisfactory as far as it goes.

(1) See p. 10.

But this effort does not exhaust Mr. Parnell's powers of protest—far from it. On the 7th October, 1881, the Prime Minister of England, speaking before twenty thousand people at Leeds, openly and deliberately charged the President of the Irish National Land League with complicity with the assassination Press of America. These were Mr. Gladstone's words :—

"Mr. Parnell has said America is the only friend of Ireland, but in all his references to America he has never found time to utter one word of disapproval about what is known as the assassination literature of that country. Not American literature; no, there is not an American who does not spurn and loathe it; but there are, it is sad to say, a knot of Irishmen who are not ashamed to point out, in the Press which they maintain, how the ships of Her Majesty's Navy ought to be blown into the air to destroy the power of England by secret treachery, and how individuals they are pleased to select ought to be made the object of the knife of the assassin because they do not conform to the new Irish gospel."

Never, probably, was a graver charge brought by a great statesman against the leader of a political party. The accusation was made before the whole world, and before the whole world it was answered. This is how it was answered. On the 9th October Mr. Parnell alluded to the charge brought against him in these terms :—

"Mr. Gladstone accuses me of not having repudiated what he calls the dynamite policy. Well, I am not aware that Mr. Shaw has repudiated that dynamite policy either. But I will tell you what Mr. Shaw did. Mr. Shaw did not repudiate the dynamite policy any more than I did, but I will tell you what he said eighteen months ago. He said that his blood boiled whenever he saw a process server—(laughter)—and that he never saw one without feeling inclined to take the lynch-pin out of his cart. (Renewed laughter.) That speech of Mr. Shaw's was a clearer incitement to an act of violence than anything ever said by any of the men that are in any of the jails throughout the country. . . Mr. Shaw has not the courage to meet the process server openly, as many of the men and women of Ireland have done." (1) *Freeman's Journal, 10th October*, 1881.

This is Mr. Parnell's answer; this is his repudiation. He does not even attempt to deny his complicity with the paper by which his organisation is paid, but contents himself with reciting a cock-and-bull story about one of the most honest and patriotic of his countrymen, which has as much to do with the point as the story of Jack and the Beanstalk.

(1) The following is from a speech of the Attorney-General for Ireland, in the House of Commons, 16th February, 1882.—"At the winter assizes at Cork it was proved that some bailiffs were stripped naked by women. If there was one thing in Ireland they were proud of it was the virtue of their women. But under the teaching of the League women stripped a bailiff naked and hunted him for four miles. Women were put forward by the men to tear from the bailiffs their last rag of clothing. I have lived all my life in Ireland, and I know her people pretty well, and have never heard of anything like this before."

Chapter XI

NO RENT—AND THE UNWRITTEN LAW.

"After Mass at Tuam Cathedral, the Rev. Dr. McEvilly, Bishop of Galway, delivered a most impressive sermon, in which, in unsparing language, he denounced the teaching of the new doctrine of 'No Rent' as being contrary to every principle of religion, every dictate of morality, and a breach of that law which says, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1881.

THE LAND LEAGUE STORY—INSIDE THE HOUSE—AND OUTSIDE—A "FAIR TRIAL" FOR THE LAND ACT—MR. PARNELL'S TEST CASES—THE CONVENTION AND THE LAND ACT—THE "UNWRITTEN LAW"—WHAT IT IS—THE NO RENT MANIFESTO—HOW ENFORCED—A MODEL FARM.

We have already spoken of certain popular fallacies connected with the Land League and its organisation; it remains for us to mention one more delusion which the followers of Mr. Parnell have endeavoured to encourage on this side of the Channel, and which they have possibly induced some uninformed persons to accept as the truth. Those who are not accustomed to distinguish between Land League oratory as supplied to Irish audiences, and the same matter doctored for the use of the House of Commons, are now and then taken aback by the simple and plausible tale which they hear and which they are assured really represents the action and policy of the Land League. The "Unwritten Law," they are told, means merely the force of public opinion directed against an individual who acts contrary to the wishes of his class. The Land Act was to have had a fair trial, and the whole energies of the League were directed to securing such a trial until the task was made impossible by the precipitate and unconstitutional action of the Government in arresting the persons who were so anxious to see justice done. The No Rent doctrine did not mean no rent at all, but merely signified that in the opinion of

Mr. Parnell there ought to be a considerable reduction in the total amount of rent paid. These are the sort of statements which are now and again produced in grave, set speeches in the House of Commons; it will be worth while to enquire shortly what they are worth. It is best to go straight to the fountain head and see what Mr. Parnell says on the subject of a fair trial for the Land Act, and what he means by test cases. The telegram quoted, be it observed, is dated before the arrests which are supposed to have made so much difference.

"Dublin, September 17th, 1881. To Collins, President Land League, Boston.—The Convention has just closed, after three days' session. Resolutions were adopted for national self-government, the unconditional liberation of the land for the people, *tenants not to use the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act*, and follow old Land League lines and rely upon the old methods to reach justice. The executive of the League is empowered to select test cases, *in order that tenants in surrounding districts may realise, by the result of cases decided, the hollowness of the Act*."

(Signed) PARNELL.

The "old methods" are hinted at in the following counsel given by Mr. Parnell:—

"I cannot see that the tenants will lose anything at all where it is possible for the Land League to keep the farm vacant. This has been our principle from the very commencement; without such a policy we could not have succeeded in the movement at all from the beginning, and if we are able to keep a tenant's farm vacant who has allowed his interest to be sold, there can be no shadow of doubt whatever that he will be able, if he desires, to make a satisfactory arrangement with his landlord hereafter."—September 9th, 1881.

As we shall see, the "unwritten law" does its best to ensure the success of the policy of keeping farms vacant.

Before, however, dealing with that aspect of the question, it may be as well to remove all doubt as to what was the view of the Land Act and its uses which the Land League sought to impress upon the Irish people. Again we quote from Messrs. Parnell, McCarthy and Co.'s special organ. This is what the *United Ireland* of the 17th September, 1881, has to say on the matter:—

"The spirit which cowed the tyrants in their rent offices must be the spirit in which the Land Commission Courts are to be approached if they are to be approached at all."

And on the 24th of the same month:—

"The Convention has thrust Mr. Gladstone's Act aside . . . By a clear commission from the nation, the Land League resumes its sovereignty and its purpose. If the Land Courts do its bidding, well; if they

refuse to do it, better still. . . . If they falter (as it is extremely likely they will), the Land League are now armed with the most ample authority to take the work out of their hands and to do it by swifter and sharper methods. . . . The decree of the Convention is, that either the Land Act shall be used as a weapon in that war (against landlordism) or it shall not be used at all; it shall be used for the benefit of the entire nation, or the man who uses it shall quit the society of his fellow-men. It remains now for the country to see that decree obeyed."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell's special emissary to the United States, is as plain spoken as most of his colleagues are when not addressing an English audience. This is what he thinks of the Land Act:—

"Landlordism is dead, the spark of life cannot be put into the corpse. Gladstone's policy was to fix a relation between the landlord and tenant; the policy of the League was to abolish the relation, and trample landlordism beneath its heel. Gladstone's Land Act and the Land League were of precisely opposite principles."

This is how a *fair trial* is to be given to the Land Act, by those who have the impertinence to ask the British public to believe that they did not regard that measure as their worst and most dangerous enemy!

As to the "unwritten law," by which, through two weary years, the tyranny of the Land League has been supported, it would be idle to attempt within the limits of such a compilation as this adequately to describe its brutal ferocity. Never was there a more entire delusion than to suppose that the influence which the Land League has exerted has been the influence of public opinion. It has been and still is the power which depends upon intimidation and outrage. The Land League farms have been kept vacant by Land League murders; boycotting has become a reality because, behind the boycotting notice, is the bullet of the assassin or the torch of the incendiary. The "No Rent" manifesto, wherever it has been effectual, has been effectual because those who paid rent knew that they might share the fate of Moroney in the Co. Clare.

The following placard is one of the ordinances of the Land League:—

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organisation that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared "unlawful and criminal." A reign of terror has commenced. Meet the action of the English Government with a determined passive resistance. The No Rent Banner has been raised, and it remains with the people now to prove themselves dastards or men.

PAY NO RENT.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Such is the programme now before the country. Adopt it, and it will lead you to free land and happy homes. Reject it, and slavery and degradation will be your portion.

PAY NO RENT.

The person who does should be visited with the severest sentence of social ostracism.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Cast out the person who enters it as a renegade to his country and to the cause of his fellow men.

HOLD THE HARVEST

is the watchword. To do that effectually you should, as far as possible, turn it into money. Sell your stock, when such a course will not entail a loss. Make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interests in your farms. A short and sharp struggle now, and the vilest oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away.

NO RENT.

Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds, provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance and

PAY NO RENT.

NO RENT.

"The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous move in their power, and that is TO QUIETLY STAY AT HOME AND PAY NO RENT. I believe that if they unitedly adopted a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known."—NASSAU WILLIAM, Senior Professor Political Economy, University of Oxford.

"I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis to your Majesty when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law, but how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for RENT OR TITHES UPON MILLIONS OF TENANTS?"—The DUKE OF WELLINGTON to the King.

"The land, therefore, of any country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator, who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them."—Dr. NULTY, Bishop of Meath.

PAY NO RENT.

By Order, PATRICK EGAN, Treasurer.

The local branches are prompt to support the central authority. The following is a placard recently posted in Galway :—

"NOTICE.

"£10 reward will be given to any person who can give sufficient information of any tenant farmer having paid any rent since the No-rent manifesto was issued by the Central Executive. *And also a reward of* £5 will be given to any person who can give information of any spy who is informing the police about the Land League organisation.

"By Order of the Committee in Council."

This placard was posted on the wall of a chapel. This is how the crime of honesty is detected; the following paragraph will show how it is punished :—

"An armed party of sixteen men, disguised, attacked a farmer's house at Feakle, co. Clare, yesterday morning. They entered the house, searched for a candle, but could not find one. They then went to the next house, procured a light, and returning to the farmer's house placed him on his knees, and shot the unfortunate man in the legs. His son, who was concealed under the bed, was dragged out and stabbed three times in the head. A second son, who had rushed for concealment to another part of the house, attempted to run out, when some of the party who remained outside on guard, fired at the young fellow and killed him. The reason assigned for this extraordinary outrage is that the farmer was suspected of having paid his rent."

What happened to Moroney, in Clare, is merely an example of what has happened to many another through all that part of Ireland in which the Land League has undertaken to enforce the doctrine, "Thou Shalt Steal." Those who are anxious to learn the extent to which the process of intimidation has been carried, have only to refer to the police reports of agrarian crime, or if they doubt the correctness of the information drawn from that source, let them peruse the equally full record which may be found in the columns of *United Ireland* under the head of "Incidents of the Campaign."

When Mr. Dillon speaks of a "model farm" as a farm on which no living thing should, by the power of public opinion, be allowed to exist; and when Mr. Boyton, chief organiser of the Land League, declares that "there are already a dozen model farms existing in the Co. Tipperary, standing as living witnesses that the landlords *dare* not till the land and cannot get a living man to strike a spade or a plough into it," it is well to remember how the farms are kept vacant, and why no man *dare* till the land.

Chapter XII.

CONCLUSION.

"Why encourage men in a mischievous proceeding, because their absurdity may disappoint their malice? 'But noticing them may give them consequence.' Certainly. But they are noticed, not with reproof, but with that kind of countenance which is given by an apparent concurrence (not a *real* one, I am convinced) of a great party, in the praises of the object which they hold out to imitation."—*Burke.*

LANGUAGE USED BY LAND LEAGUERS—ITS COARSENESS—ITS DANGERS—EXCESSIVE MODERATION IN DEALING WITH IT—MR. PARNELL AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—CONDUCT OF IRISH MEMBERS—SUMMARY OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAND LEAGUE—CONCLUSION.

Such is the character, such are the actions of the leaders of the Irish Land League. In the preceding chapters illustrations have been given of what it is that they have been teaching the people of Ireland during the past two years. One other feature in their method of serving their country has not been alluded to, and deserves, at least, a passing comment. The persistent coarseness and vulgarity with which, both in and out of Parliament, the Land League campaign has been conducted is a matter which, perhaps, has scarcely received sufficient consideration. The language in which it has been thought necessary to inculcate patriotism and plead the cause of justice outside the House is indeed a minor consideration in comparison with the physical methods which are taken to enforce adhesion to a principle. With some people it is possible that Mr. O'Donnell's comparison of Mr. Gladstone to Judas Iscariot may pass for wit; but the number must be few; they are probably the persons to whom the following lines of Miss Parnell's appear to be poetry :—

"Tear up that parchment lie!
You, Gladstone, sunk supine to quivering slush;
You, Forster, with the sign of Cain in breast and eye;
You, Bright, whose slopping tongue can gloze and gush;
You, puppet brood, the lesser legislative fry—
A people's might your bungled work shall crush!
A people's wrath your grinning cozenage defy.
We will not loose the land, we will not starve or fly;
Tear up your chartered lie!"

Weapons such as these do little harm to any but those who wield them; and if the evil rested there, there would be little to complain of. Unfortunately, however, there is another and a more serious aspect of the question. What is mere coarseness outside Parliament bids fair to become a real danger if tolerated within its walls.

It is a real danger that the House should have to put up with the repetition of such scenes as that which Mr. Bright well described as "the worst attempt he had ever known to insult and degrade the Imperial House of Parliament." It is a real danger that the House should become habituated to the use of language which, if uttered in the "Codgers' Hall," would ensure the instant expulsion of the offender by methods less ceremonious than effective. The House of Commons already appears to some outside observers to be in a fair way to

> "Get wantonness confirmed by Act of Parliament an honesty,
> And so approved of all."

And the danger, such as it is, does not become less formidable when we realise, as many members must themselves have realised, and as all those who have followed the course of Land League oratory are convinced, that insult and obstruction are part of the organised machinery by which a party in the State has made up its mind to work.

There are probably few political virtues so essential as those of patience and toleration towards opponents; but there is a point at which patience and toleration become little more than weakness and blindness. Mr. Parnell has frankly avowed that the British Constitution having been given to him and his followers for one purpose, it is his intention to use it for another; and that other, hostile to those who are interested in maintaining it. Outside the House he and his friends have, both in their speeches and in the Press, announced their intention of obstructing the House of Commons, and the whole business of the Government of England. It is hard to say where the line is to be drawn in political warfare now-a-days, and when Mr. Parnell boasts to a provincial audience that an Act of Parliament, on which five-sixths of the House are determined, "shall not pass as long as he can stand in the House;" or again when he declares that "he and his party occupy an independent position in the House of Commons . . . pledged to be a separate element in the Legislature, and, if necessary, disorderly, disorganising, interfering with every business that may be transacted, as far as it is expedient or feasible;" it is possible that he is pursuing a wise and

patriotic course. But when we find the same speaker rising in the House which he has thus threatened, and saying, "I appeal to the sense of fair play that no doubt is entertained by the majority of the members of this House," and when we reflect that hitherto such an appeal has never been made in vain, we are tempted to doubt whether matters have not gone rather beyond the stage when concession and indulgence are likely to be of much service.

It may be all very well for one of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants to speak publicly of the House of Commons as "500 scoundrels;" and for another to tell his hearers that the English Government is based upon "murder, rapine, violence, confiscation, sacrilege, buckshot, bayonets, and flying columns;" (1) and to escape with nothing more than the contempt which they deserve; but when these same persons or their friends again and again demand and receive the indulgence of the assembly and the Government which they are so eager to vilify, they present a spectacle which, in English politics at any rate, has fortunately had few parallels.

One more remark remains to be made. It is simply a calamity that none of the many Irish members who disapprove of the teachings and policy of Mr. Parnell, have felt it their duty to endeavour to present the other side of the question to their unfortunate countrymen. It requires some knowledge of the literature which is in circulation in a great part of Ireland to realise the extraordinary diffusion of pure and unadulterated falsehood that has gone on among a people who are only too ready to believe any statement which coincides with what may be their view at the moment. It is hard to conceive the difference which might have been made if those, who by every reason of propriety and fitness might have felt it their duty to stand between their countrymen and doctrines which they knew to be pernicious and wrong, had, instead of confining themselves to platonic discourses upon the necessity of agrarian reform and the wickedness of outrage, made use of their privilege as Irishmen speaking to Irishmen, and had, with whatever inconvenience or annoyance to themselves, fairly faced the Boytons, the Biggars, and the Parnells on their own ground. Had they done so they might have rendered a service to Ireland which no parliamentary distinction, however high, is able to confer.

We have now reached the limits intended in this compilation The

(1) Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

Irish Land League has been represented as it has chosen to represent itself. The men and their methods have been described. The charges which have been made are not brought against men who are unable to answer for themselves; for the offences committed, if offences they be, were neither denied nor palliated at a time when the power to do so was not taken away. With an Anglo-American Protestant landlord, educated at Cambridge, at its head—with a nameless tribe of ruffians and desperadoes at its tail—the Irish Land League in the short space of two years has succeeded in accomplishing an amount of harm which it is not easy to over-estimate. With regard to England and English matters the position may be briefly summed up by saying that every effort which either the generosity, the friendship, or the remorse of Englishmen may have made to remove the difficulties of their Irish fellow countrymen, and to create a better feeling between the two peoples, it has been the deliberate endeavour of the Land League to prevent or to undo.

But though in an indirect way the Land League may have inflicted some damage on England and English institutions, the mischief is nothing in comparison with the misery and disgrace which it has succeeded in inflicting upon Ireland. It has succeeded in branding the people of Ireland against their will with thestigma of national dishonesty. It has forced from the reluctant people of England a curtailment of the laws which guaranteed the freedom of the subject. It has done its best to secure the contempt, if not the hatred, of the great Radical party in England, by its persistent refusal to dispense with outrage and insult in the furtherance of its aims. It has discredited, almost beyond the hope of recovery, the power of legitimate agitation in Ireland; and lastly, by a far-reaching and well organised system of terrorism it has forced tens of thousands of Irishmen to acquiesce in acts and principles against which their hearts, in common with those of every honest man, must have revolted. Meanwhile, by a refinement of impertinence the representatives of the Land League in Parliament have appealed to the generosity and forbearance of that people whom, according to their own statement, it is their avowed intention to insult, to injure, and to ruin. Such is the indictment. Against the leaders of the Land League it is laid and against them only.

Against the unhappy people upon whose ignorance or whose passions they have practised no accusation is made. Against those who

through fear or through folly have stood by and seen the demoralisation of their country go on before their eyes, no charge is here made. The poor tenantry of Ireland have had a bitter lot to bear, and little enough help in discerning true from false guides. The indictment is not against them; it is in their cause that it is drawn up.

But against those who with malice aforethought have used their knowledge to mislead and inflame their countrymen, the indictment *is* laid. The force of public opinion in these days is overwhelming, the force of public opinion with right on its side is irresistible. As the power of universal approval is enormous, so also is the power of universal reprobation. No man, no party, it matters not who they be, can stand before it when it is just. The ways and means, the methods and aims, of the persons who have created and conducted the Irish Land League have been described. The facts may be wrongly stated; if so, they will be confuted. But if they have been stated rightly, then it is to be wished that every English-speaking man and woman, and everybody who is called upon to stand in judgment between the people of England and the leaders of the Land League, should hear and know them. The result is not to be feared. The judgment of such a tribunal is irresistible, and as to the nature of that judgment there need be neither doubt nor alarm.

APPENDIX.

"A Lie runs from Maine to Texas while Truth is putting on her boots."
—*American Proverb.*

THE NO RENT MANIFESTO—THE LAND LEAGUE AND OUTRAGES—MR. PARNELL AT ENNIS—CRIME AND EVICTIONS—MR. O'DONNELL AND MR. PARNELL—MR. PARNELL'S COERCION ACT—CARRYING OUT THE UNWRITTEN LAW—IRISH AND ENGLISH CRIME.

THE NO-RENT MANIFESTO.

The No-Rent Manifesto, published with the authority of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, is still before the Irish people as the deliberate expression of the views of the National Land League. This illegal and immoral document, publicly circulated among the Irish people, has never, either publicly or privately, been withdrawn or disavowed. We have, however, Mr. Parnell's assurance that it is no longer to be circulated. As, however, it is already in the hands of those whom it was intended to teach, this is a concession of doubtful value.

THE LAND LEAGUE AND OUTRAGE.

It has been asserted again and again that the suppression of the Land League gave an impetus to crime, and that the imprisonment of the prominent organisers prevented the League from doing what they otherwise were anxious to do—namely, suppress outrage.

This is simply untrue; and the proof is that at no period during the whole agitation has agrarian crime been so prevalent as during the last three months of 1880, when the Land League was absolutely free, interfered with neither by prosecutions, by imprisonment, nor by proclamation.

MR. PARNELL AT ENNIS.

No reference has been made in these pages to Mr. Parnell's speech at Ennis; the omission ought to be supplied, as the passage quoted below furnishes the key to the whole Land League campaign, which has been throughout conducted upon the principle contained in it, namely, the enforcement of political ends by acts of persecution directed against individuals.

These are Mr. Parnell's words :—

"Now what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?" (Various shouts, among which "Kill him," "Shoot him.") "Now I think I heard somebody say, 'Shoot him,' but I wish to point out to you a very much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way, which would give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him on the roadside when you meet him; you must show him in the streets of the town; you must show him at the shop counter; you must show him in the fair and in the market place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he was a leper of old; you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it if the population of a county in Ireland carry out this doctrine that there will be no man so full of avarice as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men within the country, and to trangress *your unwritten code of laws.*"

CRIME AND EVICTIONS.

The question of evictions, like most others which the Land League leaders have undertaken to deal with, has been treated in a very different style according to the audience addressed and the conclusions to be enforced.

Before, however, discussing the various forms which the question has been made to assume, it will be well briefly and once for all to recall what is in effect the English point of view as embodied in the utterances of nearly every public man of importance, and enforced by the whole current of recent legislation, either attempted or accomplished. It is the wish of the English people that evictions should be as rare as possible, that they should be made as little oppressive as possible, and that where the transfer can be effected with equity the property in the land which now gives the landlord the right to evict, should pass on just terms to the tenant, so as to do away altogether with the necessity for evictions in the future. This is the policy which has been indicated in every line of the Compensation Bill, of the Land Act, of the Arrears Bill, and of the projects that have from time to time been brought forward to extend the operation of the Bright Clauses of the Act of 1870. That these ends are desirable the English people have admitted. But the difficulties in the way of giving effect to their wishes have been enormously increased by the action of the Land League, who, by deliberately compelling landlords to evict in cases where it was not only just but necessary that they should do so, have made it almost impossible to discriminate between those who were the objects of harsh and possibly unjust treatment and the large number who, after having deliberately elected to obey the thieving counsels of the Land League, found themselves face to face with the consequences from which that organisation promised to hold them harmless. We now come to the view of the question as presented at different times and in different places by the leaders of the Land League, and in examining their arguments on the

subject we shall do well at the outset to set our faces against the loose way of dealing with provocation and crime which has been encouraged only too successfully by a considerable class of political reasoners. It is certainly a new phase for English politicians to acquiesce as calmly as many of them seem to do now-a-days in what they appear to consider a self-evident proposition—namely, that the one, the only, and the natural method of expressing discontent with the law, or dissatisfaction with social conditions, is to break the law and to commit murder. It is astonishing to observe the cool way in which it is taken for granted by many that to say a man has been asked to pay his debts and refused is at once a full and sufficient explanation of any crime, from larceny to homicide, which the debtor may think fit to commit. But, setting aside this view of the question, we come to the consideration of the Land League case. Argued even on the ground of its own supporters, we shall see that, granting their assumptions, the position is not much improved.

These remarks have been entitled "Crime and Evictions," and the two subjects have been coupled together in deference to the series of arguments which has invariably connected the one with the other.

It will be seen below how far this connection exists in fact. Meanwhile, to return to the various ways in which the Land League have treated the question of evictions according to the lesson they wished to teach at any given moment.

First, there is the lesson as taught to the Irish tenants. "Pay what rent you please, none if you think fit; be evicted rather than pay more than you please." This is the first instruction. "Pay no rent at all under any circumstances." This is the second and perfected counsel of the League. In both cases the tenants are ordered to allow themselves to be evicted rather than be honest, and the reward for their dishonesty is to be the special protection of the League which guarantees that they shall not be the losers. A number of tenants, fewer fortunately than the League leaders supposed, believed the Land League, chose the path of dishonesty, and found, too late, that the law was too strong for them. If any such were evicted, they were rightly and justly evicted, and every case where such persons have lost their holdings stands as a lasting testimony to the mischief that has been done by the League in confusing plain issues, and obscuring the claims of those who are suffering unjustly by mixing them up with the recriminations of the dupes of the Land League.

Many of the evictions which have taken place in the poorer parts of Galway are instances in point where real and great suffering has been caused, and, it may be, injustice done. There has been no lack of sympathy felt and expressed in England for those who have been thus

evicted, and already very practical steps have been taken by individuals to assist the sufferers. It is to render the recurrence of such suffering impossible that the emigration and arrears clauses of the Land Act were passed, the Land Court founded, and the new Arrears Bill introduced. The poor tenants of Connemara have, and deserve to have, many friends in England; but the men who try to make their misfortunes the cloak for crimes with which they have nothing to do, are assuredly not among the number.

So much for the lesson which has been taught in Ireland. In England there has been a twofold version of the story. For a long period the orthodox Land League explanation of agrarian outrages was that they were acts of vengeance perpetrated by persons who had been evicted harshly and unjustly, men who having been dispossessed from their holdings were ready to turn their hands against the law which oppressed them, in the persons of those who put that law in force. Again and again the English public were assured that as an increase of evictions was immediately followed by an increase of crime, so a diminution of the former would inevitably lead to a decrease of the latter. This was a plausible and easily understood doctrine, as long as it lasted; it did yeoman's service for a time, and would have been unanswerable if it had borne any relation whatever to the facts. Its weakness lay in its being a pure work of imagination. It has done its duty, and has now been discarded. The following figures shew the real relation between evictions and agrarian crime. They are worthy of careful attention, as enforcing the conclusion so long ago arrived at by those who have studied the course of Mr. Parnell's agitation—namely, that crime follows the Land League and not the process-server. The figures are as follow :—

CONNAUGHT.

—	1881. 1st Qr.		1881. 2nd Qr.		1881. 3rd Qr.		1881. 4th Qr.		1882. 1st Qr.	
	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.
Galway (E. R.)	2	25	9	30	19	46	4	104	35	72
Galway (W. R.)	2	98	40	54	48	55	7	69	98	84
Leitrim	30	22	75	41	61	60	56	24	88	49
Mayo	6	114	71	68	134	56	33	66	88	58
Roscommon	5	12	46	38	20	53	52	70	39	52
Sligo	2	14	27	27	21	31	14	28	16	57

MUNSTER.

	1881. 1st Qr.		1881. 2nd Qr.		1881. 3rd Qr.		1881. 4th Qr.		1882. 1st Qr.	
	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.
Clare	5	20	25	27	24	55	14	108	52	117
Cork (E. R.)	12	34	27	86	76	74	19	114	21	63
Cork (W. R.)	8	51	28	97	38	85	60	103	13	65
Kerry	10	98	62	111	100	71	20	120	94	100
Limerick	15	38	26	65	34	54	17	105	97	59
Tipperary (N. R.)	0	13	9	47	11	54	12	82	18	74
Tipperary (S. R.)	4	12	3	27	10	21	5	73	31	110
Waterford	10	17	6	18	28	20	2	41	9	27

But the doctrine above referred to was too outrageously in contradiction to the facts to be indefinitely maintained; and there was this additional difficulty to be met—namely, that assuming the explanation of outrages to be the correct one, it was obviously against the landlords and their agents that the vengeance of the evicted tenants ought to have been directed. As the facts were the exact contrary of this, and as it almost invariably happened that the outrages were committed, not *by* men who could not pay their debts but *upon* men who did pay them, another explanation had to be found. It has lately been furnished with slight variations by two leading members of the extreme party.

"The outrages are committed by small tenants upon the larger tenants, in order that the latter may be terrorised into obeying the No Rent decree, and that thereby the former may be protected against some possible action which in their opinion is likely to be taken against them, when others have paid their rents." (1.)

This is almost literally the explanation vouchsafed by Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons, on May 15th. It is an exact confirmation of everything that has been previously said in these pages about the action of the League. In a word, the outrages have been deliberate precautions, taken in advance, to guard against a contingency which may never arise. They have been organised and carried out, on Mr. Parnell's own showing, not by secret societies, except in so far as the Land League is a secret society; but by one class of Irish farmers upon

(1.) The persons who committed the outrages were, he (Mr. Parnell) believed, the *smaller tenantry* who could not pay, and trusted, by means of the outrages, to intimidate the *larger tenantry*, and prevent them from paying their rents, and thus protect themselves.—*Times* Report, May 16th, 1882.

another. They have been, in fact, just what the Irish Executive have from the first declared them to be.

This is Mr. Parnell's story.

Mr. O'Donnell, having dropped his first line of argument, has now come forward with another. "The crimes have not diminished with the evictions, but the former have increased, while the latter have decreased," is the new admission; and the lesson which the member for Dungarvan now draws is that the crimes have terrorised the landlords into staying their hands and refusing to enforce their rights. A glance at the figures in the above table will shew that this explanation is as consistent with the facts as the former one, for it will at once be seen that over and over again evictions have been carried out *after* crime has increased in the district, while in many other localities evictions have been most numerous where there was least crime.

But granting that Mr. O'Donnell's reasoning be correct, it is hard to conceive a stronger justification of the measures which are intended to put an end to such a monstrous state of things.

For it will be remarked that Mr. O'Donnell's generalisation takes absolutely no account of the enormous number of cases in which it is perfectly just and fair that the rents should be paid, and he appears to assume, what is directly contrary to the fact, that in the majority of cases where the pressure he refers to is put upon the landlords, the tenants are really unable to pay. In some, perhaps many cases, they are unable, but it is not their cause that the outrages have been intended to serve.

There is no need, however, of recondite explanations to account for the increase of outrage since October last. In that month a decree, addressed to all the farmers of Ireland, ordering them to refuse to pay their just debts until Mr. Parnell was released from prison, was promulgated. Penalties were attached to any violation of the decree. Its provisions were violated and as often as persons doing so were detected the penalties were enforced.

MR. PARNELL'S COERCION ACT.

CARRYING OUT THE "UNWRITTEN LAW."

So much has been said about the tyranny of the law, and the outrages which have been committed upon a harmless and unoffending people that the following short summary of the work of the Land League during a period of six months is not without interest. The incidents referred to occurred in three counties only, and no reference whatever is made to offences less serious than those of murder and attempted murder. Such indications of the "spirit of the country" as firing into houses, arson, and cattle maiming, are not referred to.

Episodes in the Land League campaign, in Kerry, Limerick, and Clare, from October, 1881, to March, 1882, inclusive: –

NAME.	PUNISHMENT INFLICTED under the "Unwritten Law."	OFFENCE.
MICHAEL CONWAY .. Herdsman. *Murdered.*	Shot in broad daylight, while at work, by two disguised men.	Suspected of aiding the law, and working for an employer objectionable to the tenants.
A PARTY OF POLICE...	Fired at with a rifle	Protecting a process-server.
RICHARD STUDDERT.. HALLAM STUDDERT..	Fired at ten times in a friend's house, on opening the front door.....	Being land agents.
MICHAEL MOLONEY .. Farmer. *Murdered.*	Shot dead through the window of his own house	Paying his rent contrary to Land League orders.
PATRICK LEARY ..... Farmer's son. *Murdered.*	Shot by one of a disguised party engaged in making domiciliary visits to ascertain whether the inmates had paid their rents...	Alarming the party while pursuing their avocations.
JOHN DONOHUE ..... Labourer.	Fired at and wounded by two men who attacked his house at night	Falling out with the local Land League.
PATRICK HALLORAN.. Herd. *Murdered.*	Shot while sitting before his own fire	Refusing to desert his employer in obedience to a boycotting decree.
JULIET BENTLY	Fired at by two men with rifles, while driving with her three daughters	Being the wife of a magistrate suspected of doing his duty.
DENIS MCCARTHY ... Farmer.	Fired at and wounded, knocked down and kicked, by a disguised party in his own house	Paying a portion of his rent, and not producing a Land League card.
THOMAS CLIFFORD ... Herd.	Shot in the leg in his own house by a party of twenty men in disguise	Refusing to desert his employer, who had been boycotted.
THOMAS GALVIN..... Farmer.	Shot in the legs in his own house in the presence of his mother, by a disguised party	Stating that he had paid his rent.
JOHN KEEFE..... ..... Farmer.	Leg shattered, shot in his own house, by a disguised party...	Suspected of paying rent.
DANIEL CRONIN ..... Farmer.	Dangerously wounded in the thigh, by the same party	Suspected of paying rent.
MICHAEL CRONIN ... Farmer.	Shot in the leg and robbed by the same party	None apparent.
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.. Farmer.	Fired at at his own door several times, by a party similar to that above	Being obnoxious in some way not apparent.
R. STUDDERT	Fired at from behind a hedge ...	Being a land agent.
DONOUGH O'BRIEN...	Fired at four times in broad daylight	Being a land agent.
DENIS CONNOLLEY ... Farmer.	Shot in the leg	Promising to pay a portion of his rent.

NAME.	PUNISHMENT INFLICTED under the "Unwritten Law."	OFFENCE.
PATRICK DONOHOE ... Farmer.	Dragged out of bed, beaten, and shot in the foot	Purchasing his farm.
THOMAS SULLIVAN ... Carter.	Attacked on the road by a large party, kicked, his ears slit, and shot in the hand.....	Refusing to desert a boycotted employer.
JOHN LENANE ..... Labourer. *Murdered.*	Shot dead at his own fireside ...	Refusing to desert his employer, though ordered to do so.
PATRICK KELLY	Fired at and wounded while at work	Refusing to desert his employer.
WILFORD LLOYD, R.M.	Shot at by a party of eight men, while driving; the constable with him wounded in four places	Being on a car which was mistaken for that of a landlord and his wife who were expected to pass.
MICHAEL MORONEY... Farmer. *Murdered.*	Shot in his own house, in the presence of his wife and children, by a large armed party	Being wrongly suspected of disobeying Mr. Parnell's manifesto.
ARTHUR HERBERT, J.P. *Murdered.*	Shot dead on the high road.....	Suspected of doing his duty as a juryman upon oath, in a case in which the Land League was concerned.
DANIEL DOOLING..... Farmer.	Shot in the back and legs by an armed and disguised party ...	Paying rent in defiance of Mr. Parnell's manifesto.
MARTIN COSTELLO ... Farmer.	Shot and dangerously wounded, while sitting before his own fire	Disobeying the No Rent Manifesto.
PATRICK DUGGAN ... Farmer.	His leg shattered by an armed party	Suspected of paying rent.

These facts require no commentary, except that they are, as before stated, a record of what has happened in *three* counties only during a period of *six* months only, and relate to two kinds of crime only. Wherever the Land League has established itself there these facts may be paralleled. It is to be regretted that the storm of indignation which was aroused by the recent tragedy in the Phœnix Park should have been the first demonstration of the kind, and that that unhappy occurrence should have drawn from the Land League leaders expressions of disapproval which no incident in the horrid carnival of crime which preceded it was able to evoke.

IRISH AND ENGLISH CRIME.

One other impudent fallacy which has not been referred to in the body of this work, is worthy of mention. The supposed facts with

which it deals have already been made the basis of endless declamation, and the premise for many absurd conclusions. The fallacy is one which deserves exposure in this place, inasmuch as it has constantly been used by the Land League Press in Ireland, and by its allies in England as an argument against repressive measures. The statement is that, setting agrarian crime aside, there is proportionately more crime of a violent nature in England than in Ireland. So persistently has this been asserted by those whose interest it is to induce the English people to believe it, that, probably, nine persons out of ten have actually come to accept it as a fact.

The following figures will, it is to be hoped, put an end, once for all, to the whole invention and the conclusions which it has been made to support.

In Ireland, during the year 1881, the number of murders, exclusive of those of infants under one year, was 40. Of these 17 are returned as agrarian; but as in a few cases crimes which have been in reality the outcome of the land agitation have been wrongly entered as ordinary offences, it will perhaps be fairest to take the number at 20. In England, during 1880 (the last year for which the figures are available) the total number of murders was 58. Taking into account the relative populations of England and Wales on the one hand, and Ireland on the other, the following figures will be arrived at :—

	England, 1880.		*Ireland, 1881.*	
	No.	*per 100,000*	*No.*	*pr100,000*
Murder (persons above one year)	58	.223	40	.775
Murder (of infants under one year)	73	.280	27	.523
Attempts to Murder	70	.269	19	.368
Shooting at / Wounding / Stabbing with intent to do grievous bodily harm	664	2.553	246	4.767

The agrarian crimes in Ireland during 1881 are as follow :—

		Per 100,000.
Murder	20	.387
Firing at the person	68	1.317
Assaults endangering life	27	.523
Aggravated Assaults	100	1.93

Thus it will be seen that, as regards murder alone, the total proportion in Ireland is about *three and a-half times* that in England. Agrarian murders *alone* give a figure nearly double the English, while, extraordinary to relate, the *non-agrarian* murders alone reach a similar high proportion.

The following table is taken from the returns contained in the Introduction to the Irish Criminal and Judicial Statistics for 1880.

Comparison of more serious offences committed in England and Ireland, in proportion to population. Offences punishable after trial by jury.

	Proportionate No. for same population.		*Difference between Irish and English.*	
Irish more than English.	1880 *Irish.*	1879 *English.*	*Irish less.*	*English less.*
Infanticide	20	16	—	4
Murder	22	17	—	5
Manslaughter or Culpable Homicide	80	52	—	28
Attempts to Murder or do Bodily Harm other than Infants	242	181	—	61
Offences against life of Infants	84	36	—	48
Malicious Offences against Property	1,133	88	—	1,045
Intimidation	1,876	3	—	1,873
Irish less than English.				
Offences against Property without violence	557	1,825	1,268	—
Do. with violence (1.)	584	1,315	731	—
Attempts to commit Suicide	65	221	156	—
Forgery and Offences against Currency	91	193	102	—
Offences against Morality	119	175	56	—

Comparison of less serious offences committed in England and Ireland, in proportion to population. Offences punishable either after trial by jury or summary conviction.

	Proportionate No. for same population.		*Difference between Irish and English.*	
Irish more than English (but less than Scotch).	1880 *Irish.*	1879 *English.*	*Irish less.*	*English less.*
Common Assault and Breaches of the Peace	35,762	18,866	—	16,896
Irish more than both English and Scotch.				
Malicious Offences of a minor class	5,444	4,273	—	1,171
Minor Offences against Police	3,685	2,704	—	981
Offences against Fishery Laws	1,101	234	—	867
Riot and Mobbing	786	19	—	767
Assault and Inflicting Bodily Harm	751	60	—	691
Irish less than English and Scotch.				
Aggravated Assaults on Women and Children	469	495	26	—
Offences against Game Laws	895	2,693	1,798	—
Theft and Embezzlement (1.)	6,083	11,982	5,899	—

(1.) These are peculiarly the offences common to large town populations.

Lastly, with regard to crime in England, one fact remains to be noticed. In the prison returns for the year 1880 it appears that out of 166,000 persons confined in gaol in this country 20,000 were born in Ireland, as against 140,000 born in England and Wales. That is to say, that to make this a fair proportion, 3,500,000 persons, or more than three-fifths of the whole population of Ireland, ought to have migrated into England during the present generation.

These figures take no account of those in prison who, though born in England, are the children of Irish parents. Deduct this number also from the total, and the residue of English offenders will be small enough. These facts are not stated in a vindictive spirit. There is probably only too much reason to anticipate the prevalence of crime among the Irish; but in the first place, though the tradition seems somewhat out of date, it is still permissible to stand up for one's countrymen, when it involves no greater offence than telling the truth; and secondly, it is desirable to disabuse the minds of the public of a gross misconception, which is due either to ignorance or wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who have invented it.

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